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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1790

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Hoxha's Views on National Defense Discussed (Fuat Celiku; ZERI I POPULLIT, 14 Mar 80).....	1
General Council, Committee of Union of Physical Culture, Sports (SPORTI POPULLOR, 1 Apr 80).....	5
Behavior, Dress of Working Youth Criticized (Fatmir Selita, Isuf Shtylla; DREJTESIA POPULLORE, Oct-Nov-Dec 79)	6

BULGARIA

Paper Berates Carter's Failures (Vladimir Ignatov; NARODNA MLADZH, 7 May 80).....	7
Defense Ministry Announces Conditions for Admission to Military Academies (NARODNA ARMIYA, 4 May 80)	10
Editorial Discusses Qualifications of Navy Watch Officers (Editorial; NARODNA ARMIYA, 4 May 80)	15

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Civil Defense Exercise Held at Agricultural Cooperative (Svatomir Ambroz; ROLNICKE NOVINY, 30 Apr 80)	17
Briefs New Envoy to Egypt	22

HUNGARY

Role of Mass Information Media Weighed (Janos Pelle; KRITIKA, Mar 80)	23
Realism in Literature, the Arts Defended (Gyula Csak; KRITIKA, Mar 80)	27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED's Culture Chief, Academy of Arts President Address Plenum (Various sources, 27 Mar, 6 Apr 80)	33
Report on Plenum Hager Sets Priorities, by Kurt Hager	

POLAND

Conditions for Effectiveness of Economic Incentives Discussed (Jozef Pajestka; NOWE DROGI, Apr 80)	47
Organizational Vicissitudes of Cooperatives Discussed (Mieczyslaw Walczak Interview; POLITYKA, 26 Apr 80)	56

ROMANIA

Marx' Support for National Values Stressed (Radu Florian; ROMANIA LITERARA, 7 Feb 80)	63
Briefs	
Death of Academician	69
Death of Writer	69
New Editors	69

YUGOSLAVIA

Constitutional Amendment Procedure Discussed (Radovan Sturanovic; BORBA, 15 Apr 80)	70
Jovan Djordjevic, Drafter of Constitution, Interviewed (Jovan Djordjevic Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 30 Mar 80)	75
Social Ills Castigated by Fortnightly Journal (DUGA, 1, 15 Mar 80)	87
Bogus Sick Leave, by Zvonko Logar 'Business Lunches'	
Types of Opposition to Self-Management Explained (BORBA, 4 Apr 80)	92

HOXHA'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL DEFENSE DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Mar 80 p 2

[Review by Fuat Celiku of Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "Raporte e fjaltme 1976-1977" [Reports and Speeches 1976-1977]: "He Who Loves the Fatherland Must Learn To Defend It"]

[Text] In almost all of the material in Comrade Enver's book "Reports and Speeches 1976-1977" an important place has been given to the continued growth of the capability to defend our country, to being prepared and to the vigilance and combat readiness of our soldier people. This is particularly stressed in the chapters: "The Fatherland Is Protected Not Only When We Are Prepared Militarily, but Also When We Are Strong Politically, Ideologically and Economically"; "He Who Loves the Fatherland Must Learn To Defend It"; "Let Us Work Tirelessly To Move Forward Always"; "Let Us Prepare the Cadres Who Graduate From Military Schools as Technicians and Educators." Comrade Enver emphasizes that if we lack strong and organized defense all the victories achieved so far will be like castles built on sand.

Relying on the teachings of Lenin, and being inspired by them to make "every citizen a soldier and every soldier a citizen," Comrade Enver, once more, emphasizes the party directives: the fatherland is protected not only by the active military, but also by the whole armed and militarily prepared nation; young and old must be prepared to serve as soldiers; to understand that besides their daily work, no matter where they are, they have a duty to work for the defense of the fatherland. "The agricultural worker must be at the same time a soldier with a gun, ready to defend the fatherland; the worker in the petroleum fields must be in the vanguard, to give the fatherland as much petroleum as possible, but at the same time he must be an armed soldier; the textile worker must, at the same time, keep her gun close at hand ready to turn into a soldier if there is need to defend the fatherland. This is the way all workers in our country should be, because this is our Leninist way."

The party teaches us that it is necessary to strengthen our defense, because the freedom of the socialist fatherland is the most important of our problems: it is connected to the protection of the victories already achieved, to the

further development of the country, to the total construction of socialism and to the welfare of our people. No one can do this for us; it can only be done by the strength of our own people. Therefore, the principle of relying on our own forces, which constitutes the central idea of this volume, is strongly emphasized in matters which concern our defense. When the enemies of peoples and the revolution--the imperialists, the socialist-imperialists and the modern revisionists--are organizing and arming themselves everyday and getting ready for new wars, the party and the people, by following events, must increase their vigilance and take measures so they will not be taken unawares. At the same time, to safeguard freedom, the independence of the fatherland and the victories already achieved, our soldier people must prepare an invincible force, training it even now, in peacetime. This means that we must work, we must prepare and get organized against all enemies; ready to undertake an important people's war under encirclement to complete victory.

On this basis, the party has defined the most suitable ways to organize our people and find the best ways to prepare the entire soldier people, ways which embody and implement the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. The matter is presented simply and clearly in a Marxist way: "He who loves the fatherland must defend it. The desire to defend it is not enough; it is necessary to learn how to defend it." Therefore, the attention of the party organizations, the communists and cadres, and the whole soldier people must be focused on training so that it will be implemented in compliance with the regulations, with intensity, with good results, discipline and high quality, against simplification and other expressions of liberalism.

In addition, we must keep in mind the basic areas where training should be concentrated. Of utmost importance is instruction in the use of arms, those arms which will be used to fight and kill the enemy, those arms whose knowledge constitutes a part of our military science.

In these lessons we must learn, aside from the construction, function and the technical use of arms, to understand their political, strategic and tactical importance.

This is important for two reasons: to learn to treat these weapons well and to learn to use them. This is an important Marxist-Leninist lesson, which considers man as the decisive factor and the weapon as a helping factor: as a "slave" in the hands of a man who is full of vitality, shaped by the ideas of the party.

While recommending that we have a broad concept of the use of arms, Comrade Enver emphasizes their tactical use. Therefore, great importance is given to the tactical training of the forces, especially to minor exercises. The different tactics and strategies of war, especially those that take place under different conditions according to the situation and condition, must be organized and coordinated to serve our important military strategy. Training on the terrain under the most difficult and varied conditions is

very important, always keeping in mind the possibility of being face to face with the enemy so that, when the need arises, we can move and maneuver, in every instance, with unusual speed, to strike the enemy like lightning and prevent him from setting foot on our soil--the intention being, as is stressed in this volume, that now we will work to get to know every inch of our country. We should do this not only during training periods, but at other times as well, such as excursions to occupy the assigned places on time, to discover clever and suitable battle tactics, which will give us the initiative and good military results while exploiting the fortifications of the terrain.

Important duties in the military training of the armed people are assigned to the military cadres. The tasks will be well done, Comrade Enver points out, when we have officers and cadres who are properly trained and educated in military art. The military schools have the duty to teach this art to our officers in conjunction with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the revolutionary experience of our army and with the military experience which the peoples of the world have amassed. It is important to prepare the cadres as technicians and as teachers, as able educators of the military nation who will give advanced, high level lessons to the soldiers, volunteers from the people, pupils and students. Enemies in the armed forces, while endeavoring to deny the guiding role of the party in the army, were attempting to establish a technocracy, this bourgeois sociological trend, in the army and to convert the military cadres, especially the higher cadres, into rulers. Comrade Enver explains that if you are a technician who implements the party line this does not necessarily mean that you are a technocrat. Thus once more it is emphasized that, above all, in the army party leadership is in command, its line and its spirit with which the army is educated by the cadres who are molded by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy of the party.

Military duty in the army, just as in all the exact sciences, requires rigorous and conscientious discipline. Therefore, when we speak of discipline we must look at it broadly as it really is. We must understand by it not only the outward appearances, the line of leaving the section without permission, but primarily the matter of educating our people in military art and science. When you live and function under established military conditions, as military regulations demand, when you are trained according to the demands of the people's military art and implement the program fully, when you respect to the last detail, without concession, the financial and economic regulations, when you demand an accounting from yourself and your comrade, and your obedience and superior training are at the necessary level, then only can we say that as citizen-soldier and soldier-citizen you have a correct concept, broad and complete, concerning military discipline. This kind of scientific discipline in our armed forces applies to cadres and soldiers alike. This makes our army, as it is in fact, truly a people's army and not an army of casts.

The concept of the protection of the fatherland would be crippled if we were to confine it only to the military preparation of the people. "The matter of the defense of the fatherland must not have a narrow concept, because there is another matter of great importance, such as the matter of the economic and social strengthening of the nation, which is tied to and

helps strengthen the defense capabilities of the fatherland. Without an economically strong fatherland, without people who have been trained at increasingly higher levels politically and ideologically, without civilized and conscientious people to defend to the end the victories already achieved, and to reap new victories in the future, the preparatory work to defend the fatherland would not be complete," Comrade Enver emphasizes. This, then, is the complete Marxist-Leninist concept for the defense of the socialist fatherland. The problems of defense and of economic development are closely related; the complete solution of these problems will assure the future of our country.

Even though our people understand the necessity for military preparedness and the necessity to train for defense, Comrade Enver emphasizes, we must work to see that the rear lines of the army are strong, since a strong army must have strong rear lines politically and economically. In this sense, the worker, the members of the cooperative and the office workers will feel themselves to be soldiers and defenders of the fatherland when they are producing material goods. This means to integrate the matter of defense into all the problems of the country.

All these important problems demand the absolute guidance of the party in the army, in every cell, unit, subunit, sector, school, command, staff and youth organization. Therefore, Comrade Enver recommends that the party organizations in the army should supervise the work and the communists should concentrate on solving difficulties. It is inconceivable that the party in the army should concern itself only with the induction of young communists, with punishing those who do not obey the statute, with the movements of the cadres, with the enforcement of discipline, or confine itself to certain activities, and so on, he says, the party organization in the army must be involved in all matters. Therefore, the work of the party is as broad, complex, many sided and profound as the problems of defense, closely linked to all the services in the army and to reality, from giving lessons to putting them into practice. The work of the party organization will not tolerate routine and shallowness. Hence, the duties of the committees, offices and the basic party organizations in the army, to handle more effectively the problems of training and combat readiness; to assure their actual supervision, to work so that everyone will understand clearly the demands of the people's military art, the regulations, the commands and duties, and to instill them in their own hearts and make them an inseparable part of their awareness, and implement them with great care point by point.

The problems of defense are complex, its tasks are numerous and vital, they must be fulfilled to the letter in all areas at all levels, Comrade Enver recommends. We see this recommendation carried out in the everyday life and work of the active and reserve cadres and soldiers, people's volunteers, pupils and students who, as in every other field, have expanded their knowledge and deepened their Marxist-Leninist views on defense. Everywhere in our country, in factories, in sectors of production, in schools and military units a whole nation works, produces, learns and is aware, is vigilant and prepares with intensity to defend freedom, independence and socialism in our country.

GENERAL COUNCIL, COMMITTEE OF UNION OF PHYSICAL CULTURE, SPORTS

Tirana SPORTI POPULLOR in Albanian 1 Apr 80 p 3

[Article: "The Fourth National Conference of the Albanian Union of Physical Culture and Sports"]

[Excerpts] The delegates approved the decisions of the conference and elected the General Council of the Union of Physical Culture and Sports. In its first meeting this council elected the committee. The members of the Committee of the General Council are: Mehdi Bushati--chairman; Lumturi Markolaj and Kristaq Mico--deputy chairmen; Manol Bozaxhiu--secretary; Aziz Tahiri, Bahri Axhemi, Dhimiter Bardhi, Ela Tase, Elisabeta Karabolli, Flutur Celkupa, Ilia Kongo, Ilo Teneqexhi, Mikel Janku, Ruzhdi Bilali, and Sotir Kocollari, members.

The members of the General Council are:

Alfredita Gugovi	File Gjergji	Leonora Brahimi	Pranvera Rapushi
Arqile Marko	Flora Shqevi	Leonora Pantazo	Preng Bardhoku
Arben Musta	Flutur Celkupa	Liliana Xhyra	Rako Stambolliu
Agim Korbi	Fotini Spiro	Loro Boriçi	Robert Shkurti
Azis Tahiri	Frederik Jorgaqi	Luljeta Harkaj	Ruzhdi Bilali
Babaze Beqiri	Frida Xhemallati	Lumturi Markolaj	Sanije Haskoçela
Bahri Axhemi	Gani Ahmeti	Luke Zefi	Sabri Pllaka
Bardhi Cela	Gëzim Beqiri	Llambi Sheshmini	Sali Doçi
Barie Nunka	Ilaki Duka	Ilukan Sahateci	Saveta Nushi
Bedri Dibra	Hysen Domi	Manol Bozaxhiu	Selim Cela
Cel Hajdari	Ilia Kongo	Mark Vata	Sofije Meçe
Çlirim Hysi	Ilia Ngjela	Margarita Tela	Sotir Koçollari
Dervish Lisi	Ilo Teneqexhiu	Mehdi Bushati	Spiro Buzuka
Dilaver Dalipi	Isa Sherifi	Minella Kapo	Shahije Billa
Drane Cara	Ismet Bellova	Mikel Janku	Shega Alliu
Drita Shkakaj	Ismet Jella	Miranda Lasku	Sherif Dervishi
Dhimiter Bardhi	Jani Daci	Muharrem Sinoimeri	Taip Xliahani
Ela Tase	Jovan Gugu	Mustafa Take	Tatjana Bardhi
Elisabeta Karabolli	Jorgjie Kapo	Myzafer Velaj	Vangjel Ristani
El'hem Bejo	Kalliopi Somanjaku	Myzafer Shehu	Vaskë Afezulli
Faruk Kallashi	Kiço Mele	Naime Dervishi	Vaso Shaka
Fatos Muço	Kiço Karaguni	Nexhmi Kadiu	Vladimir Dodaj
Faslli Jashari	Koço Simo	Nezir Guguça	Xhemal Elezi
Ferit Hysa	Kristaq Miço	Nikollë Gjini	Xhemal Tare
Ferit Kaçorri	Kristaq Peqini	Partizan Koxhaj	Zisi Çabeli
Feti Agastra	Lekë Miraj	Petra Kule	Zylfi Tola
		Pipi Nati	

BEHAVIOR, DRESS OF WORKING YOUTH CRITICIZED

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 79 pp 1-72

[From a report by Fatmir Selita and Isuf Shtylla presented at a scientific session in Elbasan District: "Let Us Raise to a Higher Level the Work for the Prevention of Penal Acts and Civil Disputes and for the Knowledge of Socialist Law"]

[Excerpts] Youth problems concern not only the youth organization but also the entire society, the party and its levers. It is very unfortunate that some young workers have improper behavior, unkempt hair and other foreign manifestations. When the youth are in school they are very well disciplined and controlled. Then why do the youth who work in the socialist enterprises, in the bosom of the working class, where we have trade union organizations and strong party organizations, act in such a way? The bad thing is the insufficient concern demonstrated in the work centers for the organized systematic and responsible education of the youth both by the trade union organizations and by the party organizations. Here and there, in some villages in the periphery of our cities there are still foreign manifestations such as the wearing of long hair and cowboy pants, the harassment of girls on the street, drinking in village clubs during working hours, absence from work and poor quality work. In the buses on the Cerrik line there have been manifestations which are foreign to our society. All these things are foreign manifestations, bourgeois-revisionist influences, the first step to penal acts. They have been condemned for years but they reappear because there have been liberal attitudes concerning them. We must return with force to these problems and the basic party organizations and the communists in the work areas should stir up all public opinion, especially the youth, to condemn and purge these horrible antisocial and antisocialist manifestations.

CSO: 2100

PAPER BERATES CARTER'S FAILURES

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 7 May 80 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Ignatov: "Carter's Political Gamble"]

[Text] Four years ago, when the star of the then totally unknown Jimmy Carter glistened on the dark political skies over the United States, the attack mounted by the former military engineer, peanut planter and governor of one of the most "provincial" states of the American South--Georgia--against the White House seemed naive or, to say the least, unpromising.

It was clear to those who are pulling the heavy strings of American politics in Washington that Carter was an unknown, had no political credits and was inexperienced in a number of areas and, above all, in foreign politics. However, these shortcomings of the current president were compensated by another factor of electoral importance: the disappointment of the Americans in the White House, the crisis of credibility in the institution of the presidency and the deep political traumas caused by the dirty war in Vietnam and by Watergate.

The American voter needed something new or, at least, some new illusions. Jimmy Carter tried to provide them. His electoral campaign was, in the true meaning of the word, a campaign of promises. Carter promised everything for the sake of convincing the voters that he would truly renovate American policy. The way he has done so is already known. Instead of cleaning "morally" the foreign political prestige of the United States, it polluted it even further with the infamously failed campaign for human rights.

The rank-and-file Americans hoped that the loss of faith in the presidency would finally come to an end. However, as a result of a series of irresponsible and risky actions, in almost four years Jimmy Carter has been able to eliminate the last hopes of even his most naive voters. The "sanction measures" against the USSR, adopted following the events in Afghanistan, became particularly clear among such actions of political shortsightedness and thoughtlessness. The catastrophically failed "rescue operation" in Iran was not only a political fiasco for Carter and his Administration, but a sad apogee of the escalation of adventurism in White House activities

Regardless of whatever explanations may be provided for the failure of the commandos involved in the infinitely costly (\$150 million) Blue Light Operation and whatever justifying reasons of a technical or meteorological nature may be emphasized in the United States or whatever puzzling versions may be published in the Western press, the conclusion of the Delta story is only one: the failure of the Fort Bragg mercenaries was logical and natural. A piratical operation could be successful within the parameters of piratical actions, but not within the frameworks of international relations.

The first echo of the Iranian failure of the Carter Doctrine was manifested in the resignation tendered by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Friction between him and Presidential National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski had long been ripening and the conflict between them was no surprise. Vance used the scandalous failure of the "rescue operation" as a reason for submitting his resignation to Carter, leaving the stage in which, obviously, he no longer had any chances of playing the role which, in his view, should be played by a secretary of state.

Vance was replaced by the well-known Democratic senator from Maine, Edmund Muskie. The steps to be taken now by the new secretary of state are largely predetermined by his political past, which may be Carter's greatest hope. Muskie is a very experienced senator. He has been in the Capitol since 1959. For a while he was also governor of the state he represented so far in the Senate and, on several occasions, candidate for the vice presidency and the presidency in the Democratic primary elections. He is close to the Israeli lobby. Despite the fact that the American press tries to present him as a "dove" because of his relatively more moderate position held during the Vietnam war and his affiliation with the liberals within the party, Muskie has always stood on the right. President Carter has frequently expressed his personal sympathy for Muskie and entrusted him with some foreign political missions. However, his appointment is not an impulsive decision, a type of action for which Carter has long shown his tendency. He hopes, with Muskie's help, to eliminate the growing contradictions between the Congress and the White House. Actually, the President did not bother to inform the American legislative body of the Operation Blue Light.

The scant information released through the barriers of secrecy of the Saturday meeting held on American foreign policy in Camp David makes it clear that Carter has decided to launch a bypassing maneuver. For a while Brzezinski would remain in the background in the area of foreign policy, while Muskie would be the "main spokesman" of Washington's foreign political trends.

Naturally, this gesture made by Carter is not a polite bow to Muskie or an attempt to calm down the State Department. Obviously, the President believes that the proclaimed favoritism enjoyed by Brzezinski will be creating problems for him not only in the United States but abroad, due not

only to the reactionary reputation of the adviser but his openly right-wing statements.

How far will Carter go in his irresponsibility to the future of the planet? How will the United States extricate itself from the mire of the conflict with Iran in which it is steadily sinking? The answers to such questions still lie in the future, a future for whose peaceful creation so many efforts were invested by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the progressive forces on earth, and which now the Carter Administration is gambling on the card of political adventurism, risking losing it in a way which the nations cannot forgive.

5003

CSO: 2700

BULGARIA

DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 May 80 pp 1-2

[Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense on the Enrollment of Students in Higher Educational Institutions in the 1980-1981 School Year]

[Text] A. Enrollment of Students in Higher Military Schools

The higher military schools shall accept students for the following specialties and term of training:

Vasil Levski Higher People's Military Academy, Veliko Turnovo

1. Motorized infantry, border guard, tank, automotive, communications, engineering, chemical and rear forces--four-year term.
2. Political training--four-year term.

G. Dimitrov Higher People's Military Artillery Academy, Shumen

1. Command--four-year term.
2. Engineering--five-year term.
3. Political--four-year term.

G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy

1. Command-engineering--five-year term.
2. Engineering--five-year term.
3. Agricultural aviation fliers--three-year term.

N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Navy Academy, Varna

1. Command-engineering--five-year term.

2. Engineering--five-year term.

3. Political--four-year term.

Military academy graduates shall be promoted to "lieutenant engineer" and acknowledged higher education and skills in accordance with their field.

The higher military schools shall accept young men who are secondary school graduates with a minimum grade average of 12.00, based on the overall grade of the diploma and ratings of subjects considered in setting the grade. They must be 23 years old or younger and flight-training candidates must be 21 years old or younger, physically healthy, unmarried, active members of the Komsomol and willing to dedicate themselves to military service.

The diploma subjects whose grades shall be included in the overall grade are the following:

Political training: Bulgarian history and Bulgarian language and literature;

Chemical troops: chemistry and mathematics;

All other areas: mathematics and physics.

The applicants shall submit petitions to the commander of the military school through the military district (service personnel--through their unit commanders), mandatorily listing the fields in the order which they would like to be graded. The following documents must be attached to the petition: diploma for completed secondary education or diploma transcript; autobiography, birth certificate, certificate showing no police record, draftee health certificate, school teacher's recommendation, declaration of intention to serve in the armed forces (BGA--Bulgarian Civil Aviation, Water Transport and Ocean Fishing) for no less than 10 years and a priority certificate.

The same procedure for submitting documents applies to young men who are applying at the same time to a civilian higher educational institution and a higher military school.

The documents must be submitted before 7 July 1980. Individuals who have graduated before 1980 and draftees must submit their documents before 20 June 1980.

Every candidate has the right to apply to a single military academy for all subjects listed in the order of preference.

All candidate students must present themselves at the military academy to which they have applied no later than by 1400 hours on 10 August; candidates for flight pilot at the G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy must present themselves before 1400 hours on 3 August 1980.

Candidate students must take two written competitive examinations: the first on a special subject and the second on general culture and political training.

The special subjects for competitive examinations are the following:
political training--Bulgarian history;

Chemical troops--chemistry;

All other subjects--mathematics.

The written competitive examinations shall be based on curricula and questionnaires for competitive examinations for civilian higher educational institutions. The examination for the chemical forces shall be based on the questionnaire on chemistry for universities and chemical-technological VUZ.

The examinations will be held on the following dates:

Mathematics, 11 August;

History, 12 August;

General culture and political training, 13 August;

Chemistry, 14 August.

At the G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy, for the flier pilot specialty, the examinations shall be held on the following dates:

Mathematics, 4 August;

General culture and political training, on 5 August. The candidate students for this subject have no right to take the written competitive examinations together with the candidates for other subjects offered by the school.

All candidate students who have successfully passed the written test on their special subject shall have their physical and psychological qualities tested and shall be subjected to a medical examination from 13 to 17 August.

The physical qualities of candidate students shall be tested in the following subjects: lift ups on horizontal bars, no less than six times; running the 100 meter dash in no more than 16 seconds; running 1,000 meters in no more than 4.20 minutes; jump in length, no less than 4 meters; swimming 100 meters in not over 3 minutes (for the N. Y. Vaptsarov Navy Academy).

Sports clothing must be worn (provided by the candidate student).

The psycho-physiological examination will be based on special methods developed by the military academies.

The medical examinations will be based on the stipulations of the "list of diseases and physical shortcomings."

Flight pilot candidates shall be subjected to a special aviation medical examination.

Living premises for all candidates shall be provided for the duration of the competitive examinations in the military academies. Candidates in the services shall use military travel documents and must submit a food allocation certificate.

B. Enrollment at the G. Dimitrov VIF [Higher Physical Education Institute]

Young men applying to the G. Dimitrov VIF for physical training for the Bulgarian People's Army must meet the requirements of the military academy students. They must submit their documents to the G. Dimitrov VIF in accordance with the stipulation of the Reference for Candidate Students for 1980-1981. The following documents must be filed through the military district (in which they are registered), with the chief of the Chavdar ASHVM in Sofia: petition, autobiography, birth certificate, police record certificate, priority document, transcript of the graduation diploma and statement to the effect that they shall serve in the Bulgarian People's Army no less than 10 years after graduating from the institute.

The documents must be presented to the military district no later than 7 July 1980.

The conditions and procedure for the competitive examinations are indicated in the Ordinance on the Enrollment of Students at the G. Dimitrov VIF for the 1980-1981 School Year.

Draftees not scheduled for discharge may not apply.

Accepted students for the subject of physical training in the Bulgarian People's Army shall have the rights and obligations of students attending military academies.

Graduates shall be commissioned as lieutenants and accepted for military service in the Bulgarian People's Army.

C. Enrollment of Ministry of National Defense Scholarship Students

Ministry of National Defense scholarships shall be awarded to young people meeting the requirements for students in military academies.

Young men may enroll in the following subjects:

Medicine--at the medical institutes in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven;

Pharmacy--the pharmaceutical school in Sofia;

Physics--at the Kl. Okhrideki University in Sofia--for meteorologists in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Candidate students shall submit their documents as stipulated to the respective higher educational institutions in accordance with procedures governing candidate students. Those who have successfully placed with a grade above the stipulated minimum for the given higher school (no lower than 27.00) must submit their requests to the military district 10 days following the announcement of the results of the competitive examinations. The following documents must be added to the petitions: autobiography, medical certificate issued by a military hospital, a medical draft certificate for those who have served their regular military service, in the case of draftees, health certificates for military personnel, police record certificate, certificate on the grade of the higher educational institution to which they applied and a statement that they shall serve in the Bulgarian People's Army no less than 10 years after graduation.

Applicants who have been granted Ministry of National Defense scholarships but who have not performed their regular military service shall begin their studies after the military service.

Following their graduation, the Ministry of National Defense scholarship students shall be accepted as regular military personnel and commissioned officers in the Bulgarian People's Army units.

Additional information may be obtained from the military academies, military districts, unit commanders, for draftees, and from the manual on candidate students in 1980.

5003

CSO: 2200

EDITORIAL DISCUSSES QUALIFICATIONS OF NAVY WATCH OFFICERS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 May 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Keeping Vigilant Underway Watch"]

[Text] The homeland's navy ships take to the open sea in both calm and stormy weather. Night and day, in the dynamics of difficult sailing and exercises, the navy seamen are steadily improving their combat training. The sea is the strictest and most impartial judge of their readiness to act under complex, most unexpected and drastically changing conditions. The quality of the implementation of combat assignments and exercises in cruising largely depends on the way officers, petty officers and seamen perform their underway watch.

The ship's regulations stipulate that the watch is a special type of ship guard duty which requires constant vigilance and constant presence in one's combat position. The watch shifts covering the entire crew provide the ship's high combat readiness. They insure the required running, reliable observation and communications and accurate and accident-free sailing.

The watch officer is directly in charge of the watch. The combat shift he heads represents, essentially, a minimum yet well-trained crew which insures the navigation. The entire crew occupies and acts within its combat positions, where assigned, only in cases of battle alarm and in carrying out combat training assignments.

The knowledgeable and vigilant underway watch is the first prerequisite for safety at sea. The role and responsibility of the underway watch has become even more important today, for, ever more frequently, cruises take place in stormy weather, in active navigation areas and under difficult navigation conditions. The intensiveness of the combat training at sea is steadily rising and commanders are not always able to be on the bridge and personally steer the ships. This calls for dedicating greater efforts to improve the quality of the training and practical skills of watch officers.

Standing on the bridge, they must be profoundly knowledgeable and accurately meet the requirements of the ship's regulations and the respective

instructions. This problem has been successfully resolved aboard the ship where officer Minchev serves. Under the direct control of the ship's captain, from the moment of their arrival, the officers learn to perform not only their duties as commanders of combat units, but to train themselves as watch officers. Anyone allowed to perform bridge duty has passed a proper examination and gained experience in the course of numerous cruises. That is why they fearlessly assume the responsibility of skillfully steering the ship and of carrying out its assignments. This means that they can study the circumstances of the combat position and gain an accurate idea of the training, practical skills and navy training of all ship specialists who carry the bridge watch with them.

The experience of this and many other ships confirms that commanders who are always and purposefully concerned with the growth of watch officers and who help to improve watch service feel confident and calm at sea and successfully resolve their fire and special assignments.

Justifiably, in the course of difficult cruises, combat exercises and tactical training, the underway watch is assigned to the best in their field. It is they, rather than the inexperienced, that are awarded with the difficult watch duty. They are the most conscientious navy seamen, displaying the sharpest feeling of vigilance, military duty, responsibility and readiness to act decisively in risk situations.

Developing such an attitude toward watch duty demands the active and purposeful efforts of commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol organizations. Very important in this respect are the ship's traditions and the popularization of the most outstanding examples borrowed from the recent or more distant past of the crew. Political work is needed to upgrade the vigilance and quality of underway watch, which must be most directly coordinated with the specific navigation circumstances and the nature of the combat training assignments.

However, some subunits do not always make full use of the possibilities offered by the socialist competition among combat shifts for upgrading vigilance in the performance of underway watch duties in terms of accurately observing operational instructions. Properly organized and carried out, the competition mobilizes the people, increases their competitiveness and intensifies their desire to prevent errors. It helps them to achieve new successes in the implementation of their duties when carrying the watch and contributes to surmounting fatigue.

Cruises are the best school for courage and combat skill. However frequently and extensively they may be at sea, the navy seamen always remember that the ship must be always ready for battle, even when the sea displays most unexpected whims and in most complex circumstances. High vigilance in underway watch duties is an important guarantee to achieve this. Inspired by the party-leader and the toiling people, the crews of the navy are investing all their creative efforts and energy for the honorable solution of their assignments. It is thus that they will fulfill their socialist pledges, maintaining the constant combat readiness of the ships and insuring the reliable and safe defense of the sea space of the homeland.

CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISE HELD AT AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 30 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Svatomir Ambroz: "They Passed the Civil Defense Exercise"]

[Text] "This is the commander of the Mestecko Community Civil Defense. I hereby announce an air alert. The time is five zero zero hours. . . ."

This brief telephone message activated the civil defense staff of the Mestecko JRD [Unified Agricultural Cooperative]. Its commander immediately issued orders to sound the air alert for all workplaces of the cooperative, to verify that the signal reached even the most distant farm, to check the preparedness of the civil defense forces and equipment, and to implement the measures that must be adopted on the basis of the plans prepared for such situations. He also instructed his chief of staff to prepare and submit a summary situation report.

Meanwhile the members of the staff already are working full force. With the help of communications equipment, they checked their sections, issued specific orders and compared the existing situation with the prepared plans. A summary report gradually emerged from their data and information. Thanks to this, the chief of the civil defense staff was able to report within the specified time to his superior, Engr Frantisek Zezula, chairman of the Mier JRD and simultaneously its civil defense commander.

"The air alert signal reached all premises. The civil defense units are in readiness as follows. On the premises of the Mestecko JRD: a reconnaissance patrol, a dosimetric patrol, a fire-fighting team, a security patrol, and a medical team" He continued to list the data from all the buildings and farms of the JRD, giving the number of persons in the buildings and the continuous operations, and then added:

"Protection of the livestock, feed and water is ensured. Protected stores of feed are available for six days Production of granulated feed has been halted, and the production inventories are protected. The last 4,500 liters produced are ready for shipment."

The chief of the civil defense staff, Comrade Ivan Ofukany, ended his report with data on provisions to monitor the air space, on the deployment

of vehicles and equipment for the civil defense units, and with certain other details. Somewhat later he sent approximately the same report also to the Agricultural Service Staff of the Povazska Bystrica Okres Civil Defense. It contained also information from the chairman of the local CPSL organization, to the effect that the party committee had called together the activists and propagandists, had explained to them the military and political situation in accordance with the outline of the exercise, and had ensured effective propaganda work at all workplaces. Thanks to this, the morale of the members of the civil defense units and of the other JRD employees was good.

Staff Deserves Its Rating

The first part of the statewide demonstration exercise of a farm's civil defense took place as a command-and-staff exercise. The members of the staff normally work as top officials of the Mier JRD in Mestecko--for example, the chairman, the managers of livestock production and crop production, the manager of farm machinery, the power engineer, the safety technician, the chief of plant protection--or as investment technician, purchasing agent, or storekeeper (who now acts as the telephone operator at the command post).

The initial embarrassment, stage fright and nervousness gradually disappear, and the comrades truly function effectively as the civil defense staff. Engr F. Zezula, chairman of the JRD, frankly admits: "When they selected us for this demonstration exercise, we were surprised and at first not very enthusiastic. After all, we have our production tasks to fulfill. But later, with the support of the local party organization and of the cooperative's management, we began with enthusiasm the realization of our new assignment. Particularly during the preparations for the demonstration command-and-staff exercise, we said to one another that we had to fully imagine ourselves in a situation of threat, otherwise we would not succeed."

They actually did succeed and, moreover, they did so in the presence of responsible officials and experts. These included Lt Gen Engr Josef Marusak, federal deputy minister of national defense and commander of the CSSR Civil Defense; Engr Jan Sabik, federal deputy minister of agriculture and food; the chiefs of the civil defense staffs of the CSR, SSR and all the krajs; responsible officials of the Czech and Slovak ministries of agriculture and food and of the kraj agricultural administrations; and top officials of the party and government organs in Povazska Bystrica Okres, headed by Engr Stefan Holak, chairman of the okres national committee.

The command-and-staff exercise continued with the functioning of the staff in a situation of nuclear attack against the territory of the CSSR and of the okres. The key role in ensuring the operation of the JRD in this situation was played by the two assistants to the chief of the civil defense staff: the assistant for the protection of livestock, Engr Emil Pilo, the JRD's manager of livestock production; and the assistant for field crops, Engr Pavol Kukucka, the JRD's manager of crop production. They successively proposed the necessary measures, taking into consideration the differences in the suitability of the milk and of the feed and fodder stored in the buildings and haystacks, the scheduling of crews for the work shifts,



Figure 1. Engr F. Sezule, chairman of the Mier JRD and its civil defense commander (right), listens to a situation report by his chief of staff, Comrade P. Ofukany. On the situation map he simultaneously marks the developments and their possible effect on the activity of the civil defense units, the workers of the integrated JRD and the population.



Figure 2. In the case of contamination, all farm machinery and vehicles of the civil defense units must pass through this decontamination point, built by its personnel with materials prepared in advance.



Figure 3. From the practical exercise at the Luky pod Makytou farm for young cattle. The photograph shows the dosimetric control station.

the health and veterinary security measures, and the other necessary tasks on the farms and in the buildings of the cooperative.

Practical Demonstration of Preparedness

"On the Luky pod Makytou dairy farm we found damage to the porter's lodge and to the barn for young cattle, a fire, and several wounded persons. The livestock was restless, several head suffered burns and wounds. The radiation level is . . . The road is passable along its entire length."

This report by the commander of the reconnaissance patrol was the basis of a decision by the JRD's civil defense commander to undertake rescue and restoration work, primarily with the JRD's own forces and equipment:

"Concentrate on administering first aid, putting out fires, and undertaking veterinary measures. Furthermore, perform the special cleanup of the workplaces and vehicles, transport the wounded to the medical center, decontaminate the deployed civil defense units, and dispose of the livestock that must be slaughtered."

This order was carried out in the practical part of the demonstration exercise. It began with the effective liquidation of the fire by the fire fighters. Simultaneously, the members of the medical team demonstrated their knowledge and skill by treating the "wounded."

Meanwhile, a chemical defense team from the civil defense unit at the May 1 Rubber Works in Puchov arrived at the JRD as reinforcements. Wearing gas masks, they staked out the contaminated area. JRD equipment--a tractor and a liquid-manure truck, modified for the partial deactivation and decontamination of roads--was sent to treat the roads in the entire JRD. Engr Emil Filo, assistant to the chief of the civil defense staff in charge of the protection of livestock and the JRD's manager of livestock production, directed all activity on the spot. He was informed by the Okres Civil Defense Agricultural Staff that a veterinary and slaughtering team from the Puchov Meat Packing Plant was being assigned to the JRD. The team arrived at the specified time and carried on from where the cooperative's civil defense units had left off.

The veterinarians began first of all to sort the affected livestock, and then to clean and treat the animals. Several heifers designated for compulsory slaughter provided the slaughtering team an opportunity to demonstrate their expertise, skill and readiness to quickly intervene where the population's lives and health might be jeopardized.

To Ensure the Population's Food Supply

"Our JRD underwent considerable development in recent years. We have begun to study intensively also the problems of civil defense, because it is our duty to ensure the population's food supply in peacetime as well as in exceptional situations," said Engr Zezula, the JRD's civil defense commander and chairman, upon the completion of the demonstration exercise. "We have assigned members of the cooperative to specific civil defense units, and we are training and preparing them to protect cooperative property as well as personal property. For us the exercise has been very edifying, and we have gained experience from it. We are proud that all our people were able to perform their tasks even under difficult conditions, actively and with dedication."

Engr Stefan Holak, chairman of the okres national committee, also said that he was proud of the cooperative members' approach to the performance of their tasks in the exercise. He emphasized that the exercise had been very instructive and would serve as an example. "We will strive to attain at all agricultural enterprises the same level of civil defense demonstrated by the comrades from the Mier JRD, and to apply their experience in the okres, in the interest of preparing responsibly for the defense of our socialist fatherland."

"All participants in the exercise performed their duties responsibly. They demonstrated that they fully understood the unity of production and defense. Working hard, the comrades were able to prepare and carry out the demonstration exercise much better than at some of the previous exercises that we have seen," summed up Lt Gen Engr J. Marusak, commander of the CSSR Civil Defense. "These are unique people, and we wish to thank them for their approach to the tasks of the exercise."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOY TO EGYPT--CSSR President Gustav Husak appointed Slavomir Novak CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Arab Republic of Egypt. At the same time he decided to recall from this function M. Snilek. [AU291000 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Apr 80 p 1]

CSO: 2400

ROLE OF MASS INFORMATION MEDIA WEIGHED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 3, Mar 80 p 12

[Article by Janos Pelle: "Once More On Mass Information"]

[Text] I am pleased that my article, "Information and Entertainment", appearing in the November 1979 issue of KRITIKA, elicited response. I am convinced that the public will be interested in a debate, conducted in a cultured manner, about the questions raised, and that this debate will not worsen but improve the picture of our mass information that has been created in the past decades.

Mass media, and especially its sphere of domestic policies, is inseparable from society as a whole, the demands of which it is supposed to satisfy and the spirit and it characterizes the democratic or anti-democratic public life.

Probably, Iren Nemeti also followed this line of thought and that is why she opposed me and defended not only the press--and, more precisely, the editorial practice of the NOK LAPJA [Women's Magazine]--but our entire social system, together with all of its accomplishments. She thinks that, I think, "the entire Hungarian press-work on internal policies is essentially of little value". Is this really the situation? Given the relations outlined, it is almost as difficult to answer this as to answer the question which Ady raised more than 70 years ago, namely, "What is one worth if one is Hungarian?"

I hope you will excuse me for not even trying to answer, for I fear that our debate is already endangered by a too early generalization. Let us remain in the spheres that are relatively more concrete, namely, at the statement, which is difficult to refute is that socialist--and at the same time democratic--mass media and a free, but structured, flow of information is inseparable from socialist democracy. It is important to emphasize this for it has become apparent throughout history that it is possible to applaud, to demand and take the floor and to speak out even when actual and assessable information is lacking, but this formal democracy based on formal information is foreign to the spirit of socialism.

The mass information media's function of disseminating official information was characterized in Hungary by the cult of personality. This was the time when Sándor Csikar allegedly bought the *Népszport* [People's Sports] by inquiring "how many tractors were made last week". In addition, according to the logic of the continued embitterment of the class struggle, every single tractor made was a political success as well, increasing the hate of the domestic and foreign enemy. I think, no one in his right mind wants the return of this kind of mass media. Then let us rather stay with protocol news and colorful travel experiences. And if we must choose between courageous, political and enthusiastic but fictitious letters of readers and remarks that are real but discuss the friendship between a man and a woman, our choice is clear. It would be a mistake to think that information and politics are independent from one another.

Do not misunderstand: it is not materials of an entertaining character that I want to eliminate from socialist mass media, but I think that these cannot fill the void left by official information that still abounds today. I think that our mass media must be committed. It must not lose sight of the interests of socialism, and it must face social reality from the standpoint of Marxist ideology. For me, all of this also means the requirement that it should not be silent about things that must be talked about or that it should not evade the issues. It should criticize but should exclude destructive demagoguery; it should constructively analyse social phenomena but should keep its common sense even in viewing our accomplishments.

I would like to see the ideal—which is perhaps a little too naively formulated—realized. We are not there yet but the positive signs of progress cannot be denied. Sometimes it happens that our mass media shows its two faces simultaneously: the one which recalls the past and the other which hopefully forecasts the future.

Let me quote a concrete example, although I know that it is always concrete things that elicit the hottest debates. Our mass media, quite justifiably, often deals with the question of the gypsies, resulting in the coincidence that a magazine of large circulation and a monthly journal, published for a relatively narrower intelligentsia, dealt with the same subject in 1979. Both organs published articles about Alsószentmárton, a village in Baranya, where every last house was bought by gypsies. The magazine interpreted this fact as a victory for gypsy emancipation, in a colorful and well-written report about how well the gypsies feel in the village from which the last Sokác [Slovak ethnic group] moved out. On the other hand, the author of the journal article pointed out that the entire settlement became disadvantaged through this, there being no more possibility for the gypsies to assimilate into their local environment, being now segregated in their village as well, just as in their working place.

Our society, as we know very well, is doing as much as it can for the gypsies' linguistic, cultural and economic development. I think the article which

exposed the problems served the cause better than did the report with the jovial tone. The situation is not any different in other areas either and thus we can say that socialist mass media is carrying out its task well if in the course of building socialism it does not turn its back to the conflicts between the social strata.

If we believe that a new—and in everyway a more just and humane—society has been built in our country during the decades of socialism, then we must not be afraid that reality will "make the picture too dark". Let me note here that I agree with Peter Renyi's article, published in the January 1980 issue of KRITIKA, in that socialist mass media, that is, socialist culture must refrain from faulty generalizations and malignant, instigating and hostile criticism. At the same time, I also share, like Renyi, the opinion of Istvan Elek, his debating partner, with a more precise formulation: precisely for the sake of further development, we must, in the fourth decade of building socialism, be willing to disclose the social facts.

I am not working for any newspaper or periodical and thus I read Jozsef Gox's article, describing the unwanted advocacy around mass information's materials of a critical character, with great interest. If it is true that "it is much more difficult to write a critical article than a laudatory one", then I take my hat off to those journalists—especially to those who work at factory and megye papers—who take up the challenge and speak out for the truth. Unfortunately, this is not a frequent case and, albeit bitterly, I can also understand the journalist who, instead of jeopardizing his existence by unveiling the tyranny of a local ruler, writes reports on brigades many times distinguished.

It is not surprising after this that the difference between the prestige of journalists of domestic policies and that of writers and literary critics is much greater than justified and greater than, say, half a century ago. I have not taken any surveys in this area but it seems that there are very few courageous journalists, steadfast in serving the truth, in the literature of short stories and novels of the 1970's. (One exception is the HAZSZENTELO [House-Warming] by Ferenc Karinthy.) And if there are such journalists, and they most likely work for national papers or periodicals, and come from the top and have influential connections.

I consciously did not mention the organs of literary character among the positive aspects of the Hungarian mass media. ELET ES IRDALOM [Life and Literature] and UJ TUKOR [New Mirror] can, neither in their circulation nor in their content, be compared with the other daily and weekly papers. Discussions and reports published in them are often authored by outside consultants who have previously gained such a reputation with their writings that they are guaranteed relative autonomy. In Hungary, literary life traditionally has a higher "threshold of accepting criticism" than do the other spheres of social life. Perhaps this is also a reason for our literature's commitment in public life and its sensitivity for social problems.

The literary magazines publish political news only indirectly, and their commentaries are significantly different from those familiar with mass information on domestic policies. The question of the relationship between news and commentaries is worth raising only in connection with the daily press, radio and television where information, canvassing and propaganda play important roles.

When I urged for the separation of canvassing and propaganda from information, that is to say, from giving information in a strict sense that is not indifferent from a political viewpoint, I only objected--perhaps not in a completely appropriate form--to the practice that certain important news is substituted by commentaries. For it happens for example, that our mass media "prepares" the public opinion for weeks for an unfavorable event in economic policy, and when the news about it finally comes to light, most people already know about it--and about many other rumors. It even happened that certain news considered problematic were not given out at the time of the event. But as the event proved to be important, the news was discussed years later as well-known facts in certain periodicals addressed to a narrower stratum of intelligentsia.

I believe that, in spite of deficiencies in Hungarian mass information that are a heritage of the past, there are positive tendencies that may be the basis of creating, and then broadening, socialist democracy. This process may release unsuspected intellectual energies which, by becoming material energies, may significantly increase our social and economic achievements. The clarification of views, intentions and deeds has never obstructed but has always promoted the cause of socialism.

9414

CSO: 2500

REALISM IN LITERATURE, THE ARTS DEFENDED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 3, Mar 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Gyula Csak, secretary of the Writers' Association: "In Defense of Realism"]

[Text] The most important moral requirement that can be made for literature is that it be capable of formulating the truth of reality with its own means. This is clearly a triple task. First, it should know reality; second, it should be able to get the truth out of it; third, it should be capable to tell the results in an artistic way.

And the problems originate right away from the fact that this three-fold task is very rarely—only in exceptional cases—seen being realized, although some authors are definitely striving to achieve this and believe in the realization even when it was not, or was only partly, successful.

The situation is complicated by the fact that there are many writers who do not consider the three-fold unity important but believe that it is enough to have an artistic talent and then it makes no difference what we say with this talent. We can then boldly turn our backs to reality, for instance, and we can turn our backs to the truths inherent in man's social existence.

Other types of writers have an exactly opposite conception. It is enough to know reality, possibly with statistical authenticity, and nothing else is important. Still others swear by the idea that what is essential is to serve directly the Marxist ideology or the party's policies, and every other aspect can be ignored.

In addition to the ones mentioned, numerous other variations are possible. The point is, however, that these variants are not living peacefully with one another but are fighting each other, desperately competing for first place or for monopoly or for the isolation and elimination of the others. As a consequence of all this, it is characteristic of our entire literary life to be chaotic, without giving much pleasure for those living in it.

Gyula Csak's article is full of debating enthusiasm. The editors will be glad, of course, to publish remarks of constructive criticism.

The party's leaders of cultural and literary life are making great efforts to create some kind of an order in this chaos. Good relations with culture and, primarily, with the arts is especially in the best interest of the party but they are at the same time extremely difficult to achieve. For while leadership in life's other areas is based on the logic of the one-party system, culture and the arts are rather based on pluralistic aspects.

An aphorism-like formulation is well-known, according to which the party exerts its influence on artistic life under the three T's TAMOGAT [supports], TUR [tolerates] and TILT [prohibits]. The last T is so to be understood that in our country nothing is allowed that is detrimental to state interests, undermines public opinion or propagates inhumane ideologies. We can agree with this. The middle T refers to the fact that the party's cultural leadership, although it strives to achieve a hegemony for arts of socialistic ideology, recognizes the non-socialist arts' right of existence. This is also clear. The first T means that artistic creations of socialistic ideology, precisely for the sake of guaranteeing a hegemony, must be specially supported. Of course, we can agree with this, too.

No matter how nice and effective aphorisms are, they are always inexact. This is the case with "the three T's". Namely, the middle T is not within itself the same that is, with tolerance. Tolerance means that we forebear--groaning and moaning--something that we do not like. It is evident, however, that it is different with artistic works which, although they are not of socialistic ideology, belong to this category. We are not tolerating them reluctantly but see artistic pleasures in them and pay our respects to them. Furthermore, why should something, which is published, paid, disseminated and prized by the state, be called a thing that is being tolerated? It is evident that this is much rather support than tolerance.

From all of this it follows, then, that the first two T's are rather mixed, causing serious difficulties in practice. Many facts show that the administration of the first and foremost T, that is to say, of supporting works of socialistic ideology, is not yet worked out in book publishing, in journals, in the daily press, in theater and film, in music and in the fine arts. There is a lot of improvising and confusion in dealing with the necessary differences. Thus it is characteristic of our entire artistic life that its healthy value system often becomes unbalanced or, in other words, it is constantly in the state of unbalance.

We must accept the fact that perfect differentiation is not easy. As I said, tendencies are at war with one another, there are prejudices, and small groups and cliques are created, and thus the situation becomes totally unclear even for those who have good intentions. Of course, the cliques do not issue membership cards and thus are extremely difficult to identify. If it is in their interest, they can even deny their existence and coordinate activity. On the other hand, from this undefinedness it also follows that those sharing the same principles may also be accused of belonging to a clique. And this way the real cliques may attack and throw mud at the non-cliques as well. Experience in mass psychology shows that it is much

easier to organize and operate a determined clique than a literary life as a whole where every kind of difference in taste, and even the opposition, must find its own elbow-room.

Our literary life is facing several kinds of dangers originating from the situation outlined. One of them is that cultural leaders--both at the top and the bottom--lose their tolerance beyond a certain point and say no before they say yes. There is a great tendency to avoid democratic solutions and open debates.

The other danger is different, originating, among other things, precisely from extreme tolerance. It is a fact of literary and political history that there was a period when the party did not recognize diversity in artistic life and tried to work its will in a direct way. However, this began to change around the mid-1930's, and the evident truth was recognized that writers committed to socialism, for example, could also have artistic weaknesses that should not be covered up, for that is senseless. But soon another evident nonsense began to spread, namely, that everyone not committed could be considered a better talent to begin with. Thus for those wanting artistic recognition it was better to avoid the suspicion of being committed. Impudent proclamation of non-committal became fashionable. And it is still a fashion today, for it often pays off very well.

Moreover, there are those who are not only striving to get into the warm light of social non-committedness but are subjecting others to a kind of moral terror. Using political terminology, we can say that this kind of aspiration may come both from the right and left. At present it seems that this process is starting from the right and the reason for its success is that the normal left wing, struggling for a harmonious literary life, allegedly does not have an adequate spiritual and mental--and, consequently, personal--apparatus for self-defense.

We have reasons to doubtfully shake our heads when we hear such things. We have reasons to suppose that what is missing here is not spiritual power but courage!

It is fashionable today to label things. The air is full of things such as Stalinist, official, urban, popular, conservative, modernistic, European, non-European--and so forth. These labels, every one of them, are false and mendacious. There is no tendency and there is no artist that can unequivocally be labelled by any one of these attributes. Still, there is a chilling fear that someone will be branded this way and, as a consequence, instead of taking a clear stand, people formulate things in an on-the-one-hand-and-on-the-other-hand fashion. Decisions and opinions become watered down by references to a certain democraticism at high, middle and low institutions alike which direct our literary life. One of the gravest moral problems of our cultural--and literary--life stems precisely from the cowardice that is referring to democraticism.

Instead of finding the truth, a joint covering-up of the truth is going on in our cultural and literary life.

It seems that we are in a kind of state of inertia but, still, some dangerous things are happening in the bottom of this stagnant-water-condition. The energies, which could mean real literary progress, are becoming numb, enervated, atrophied and dilapidated. And, although hopefully not in historical perspective, but on a shorter range—which, however, might take decades—and aggressive indolence may come to the top, depriving the Hungarian people of the literary energy that could steer the movement of the entire society, with its own means and suitable transpositions toward socialist progress.

The "mechanism" built on the casual chain of indecent compromises and operating in the literature has already forced, the most important literary tendency that of realism into the background. The road for realistic work and a realistic writer is much more difficult today through the watered down environment of our public literary life than that of trash-literature and its authors who are sailing with favorable winds.

While we could have said in the 1960's that literature's freedom was being extended and that many kinds of stylistic tendencies and humanistic messages, which were put aside earlier, were given space, what we can see today is that not only literature's hawk-moths. The colors of decay are beginning to show among the many colors motley environment. Thus in itself we cannot be pleased today by the expansion of the color scale without already justified reservations.

This situation will not be changed by fibs, raised eye-brows or squeezed lips, that is, by more restrictions and prohibitions but much rather by a well-defined and well applied support. Or noting the flow of events—it might even be enough to give at least equal rights to committed realism.

The path of committed realism of course, always was and will be more difficult than that of other literary tendencies, simply because what it undertakes is becoming more and more difficult. If we accept that history with its objectivity is the supreme judge of human deeds, then realistic literature may be considered the star witness. The reason for this is that this school of thought is consciously striving to say not only what is true but also what is real.

The foundation of the committed realist is reality which is not only what is given us today, by, say, the press, the radio and television which is very scanty, especially with regard to our domestic situation. The realistic writer must know much more than this about social and human relations systems. This must be his first basic moral principle. Not to be supported or defended is the work which no matter how committed its intentions are only proclaims truth without being able to prove it by facts and artistic effort. At the same time, the realistic writer may be certain that the

deeper he enters reality's mass of facts, the more resistance he will meet later, regardless of the artistic solution.

He may clash, for example, with politics. It is an excruciating paradox that politics are more often in conflict with committed realism to be supported than with non-committed works and artists. Of course, this is easy to understand if we consider that non-committedness is characterized precisely by an indifference toward social progress. It follows this principle and, even in the case of the highest artistic manifestations, excludes politics in order to avoid quarrels.

Committed realism, on the other hand, also following from its character, grabs reality because it wants to influence and act, because its basic premise is that sensible works are identical with sensible deeds and that art is not a knick-knack to be put behind glass but can be—if applied well—a means of social progress. And in this arena, it might clash with the supposed interests of politics. However identical the end-objective is, the interests of politics and literature may temporarily differ in the battles of society—of the every-days—for both have their own laws. And realistic literature is justified in its belief that it is always a better judge of man's condition, role and inner logic than politics are. At this point, its self-defense and commitment to fight is its moral obligation. Only this attitude may result in the added value that is shown by committed realism.

But this conflict situation, flaring up from time to time, may have peculiar consequences. The false, and almost comical, illusory situation may develop, as if socialist politics were on better terms with non-committedness, as such literary tendencies do not cause much annoyance. And this may be shrewdly exploited by the various literary and artistic schools that are rooted in the bourgeois philosophy. This atmosphere offers them an opportunity to proclaim their own "modern" aesthetic credo with increased self-confidence. This credo, together with all of the "newest" contraversies, may be summarized by saying that art must be independent, that is, independent from reality and from politics that is struggling to change reality, and must be for its own sake. And, of course, it is its moral right to ignore social needs and the needs of the readers. Spirited, virulent and elegant speculations about literature's exclusivity in general abound in this atmosphere, with the implicit or explicit objective to degrade and proscribe the interest in reality, clarity and consciousness, in other words, in everything that justifies the existence of realism.

And there are hardly any defenders of realistic literature in this atmosphere. Yet, this school also has its internal problems, many details of which await a solution requiring mental efforts. We should get rid once and for all of the burdensome heritage that is called schematism in literary history. The dictatorial system of the period of schematism was intolerable not only for the bourgeois schools but it also meant a suffering for the committed artistic schools. In fact, it caused incomparably more damage

for the latter. It simply abolished the so-called bourgeois schools and this could be understood on the other side of the barricade as an unequivocally and openly hostile gesture. On the other hand, it subjugated those who were committed, breaking them on the wheel and setting requirements for them which could be met only to the detriment of artistic realization. With this it caused an acute spiritual and mental chaos which is still haunting the committed and most talented artists who, moreover, live under the foolish suspicion that they are trying to bring back their "glorious" period, namely, schematicism, and to plant boorishness in the place of art that is colorfully blooming. Albeit committedness is also striving to be colorful, even within its own school. It should be given help, however, in its realization. It should be given support and confidence to prove that it is possible to write beautifully, interestingly, suspensefully or even shockingly about anything, even if one is committed. Indeed, this is the only way to reach into the depths of social and human secrets, this is the only way to describe in a really modern manner this really new world that has never before existed. This is the only way to have a really original message in a suitable original form.

But we can hardly find any studies which would make a bed for the river of the committed realistic literature. This river may thus come to a standstill and dry out. The committed realistic writer may become embittered and confused and may ask why it is he who must rattle his message with a squeezed throat while life is much more appealing in other terrains. This question may be brought up especially among the generation of beginning writers, and it is proven by facts that many of them with promising talents take their first steps in a direction that is not the direction of commitment. If we mentally expand this process, we will in time reach a point where it will be a fact, not a slander to say that the representation of the realistic and committed literature is artistically inferior. It may become true what is still difficult to believe today, namely, that there is not enough mental power and talent which would be capable of defending the concept of commitment and consciousness in art and there is no power and talent for not only defending this school but helping it achieve a hegemony through its internal values. There would be still enough power today, it should only be used.

The conditions do exist for all creative people, who are active in literature and worthy of respect, to realize their artistic concepts, no matter what school of thought they profess to belong to. This state must be preserved by all means. The earlier effort to "keep order" in literature by authority did not lead anywhere. Such things are detrimental today as well. In addition to the guarantee of independence of the individual artists, however, there is also a need for peace between the schools. What is needed is not God's peace according to the principle, live and let live, but a peace on the basis of mutual respect born in creative debates. The long-range objective of this peace should be that the mental ability and talent of the Hungarian people, manifest in literature, should more and more create and radiate its values in the name of the highest--socialist--morality.

SED'S CULTURE CHIEF, ACADEMY OF ARTS PRESIDENT ADDRESS PLENUM

Report on Plenum

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Mar 80 p 4

[Report by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND correspondents: "From the Plenary Session of the GDR Academy of Arts on the Occasion of Its 30th Anniversary: Art Rooted in the Life of the Workers and All the People--Creative Accomplishments for the Intellectual Wealth of Our Country." A translation of the text of Kurt Hager's address to this plenum, cited below, follows this report]

[Text] A festive and joyous mood prevailed yesterday afternoon in the plenary hall of the GDR Academy of Arts. Members, associates and guests were celebrating the 30th anniversary of this important home base for the creators of art and culture in our country. They recalled the taped words of allegiance by which Heinrich Mann, in a letter to Wilhelm Pieck in March 1949, went on record by optimistic words of faith in life and in the future: "I espouse life as long as I have it and am glad to share this espousal with you."

Greeted with the heartfelt applause of the festive assembly, Prof Wolfgang Heinz read the congratulatory message from the SED Central Committee on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the academy--words of high tribute to the importance and achievements of this institution in which the great actor himself had had not a mean share. The festival speech by Academy President Konrad Wolf eloquently expressed what position the Academy of Arts had gained for itself in the social and cultural policy life of our country and in its creative confrontation with the political problems and artistic tasks throughout the three decades of its existence.

The Moral Basis of the New Beginning Prevailing Today

Konrad Wolf recalled the start of the work in the Academy of Arts 30 years ago. Its spirit, so he said, "was marked by the political and moral basis of our new beginning--internationalist solidarity in the struggle against fascism that merged all peoples and social strata. A struggle borne decisively and through great sacrifice by the peoples of the Soviet Union, and one that actually has never ended and that governs our life for today and tomorrow. Our respect, our thanks to the land of Lenin."

On 24 March 1950, Konrad Wolf continued, the 22 founding members of the Academy received their appointments from President Wilhelm Pieck. That act had been more than appointing artists for academic status, it had been an appeal by the government for an effort of historic construction.

The Academy of Arts had been no more or no less than a point of intersection for social awareness in artistic matters. "Therein lay our founding mission and has remained the yardstick for all our efforts," the president said. The Academy's counsel had been demanded and used more and more in recent years. "That comes about, not primarily by resolutions and spectacular demarches, but through talks and the exchange of views, through compiling the outcome of deliberations for state leadership. That kind of conception for our mission has led to the respect our academy enjoys in our country. Our advice has flown into decisions, even into how decisions have been formulated, as evidenced by many examples. The resolutions of the eighth and ninth party congresses and the cultural policy they have supported also enabled the academy in becoming more effective."

Diversified Activities in Public

As Konrad Wolf pointed out, the GDR Academy of Arts received the mission to assume the function of "places of research and commemoration of socialist German art and literature" and to set up the requisite facilities by 1985. The president further said: "The Academy at present acts in many cases as a go-between for the artists and the public. We even sponsored a plenary session on the topic, 'art and public in socialist society,' in December 1978."

Within the last 5 years the Academy sponsored some 240 public events devoted to the discussion of art. That included the "Academy Hours," exhibitions and concerts, workshop performances, the "Monday Podiums," film retrospectives, colloquies for Hanna Eisler and Arnold Schoenberg and about Friedrich Wolf and Rudolf von Laban, on the proletarian-revolutionary writers league and the ASSO.

"One of the most beautiful experiences of more recent date for me," Konrad Wolf went on to say, "is that the Academy is increasingly successful in attracting a young audience. That could already be seen in the workshops and readings and became most evident at the 'Antifa 79' evening and during the Ernst Busch matinee for the 10th political song festival. Young people are willing to frequent also a somewhat remote institution like ours, provided there is a frank interaction between generations and it is not a matter of lecturing to them but of talking together, and this in a creative manner. This reflects a democratization process in dealing with art. If the representations by which we copy our life are true for each to see, then confidence also develops in our political situations, decisions and more advanced plans."

Responsibility for a Life in Peace

In entering another decade, the members of the academy find themselves under the obligation to review the mission they received 30 years ago. "We do this with an eye to the 10th SED Congress. The Academy helps further develop the solidarity between the artists and working people in our country, for this, after all, is the fundamental basis for the alliance policy of the working class party and the state power of socialism."

In the 35th year of the liberation from fascism, Konrad Wolf said, the Academy advocated the life-sustaining peace policy of the Soviet Union, and he added: "We shall pit our own forces against imperialism's ideological offensive."

In his conclusion Konrad Wolf thanked the party and state leadership for always having generously assisted the Academy. The SED Central Committee welcoming address had expressed recognition and appreciation for the members and associates of the Academy of Arts, in which he found an obligatory impulse for the Academy's future work. "For all that we owe thanks to the SED Central Committee General Secretary and State Council Chairman Comrade Erich Honecker," Konrad Wolf said. Thanking the members and associates of the Academy, he added: "These hours of celebration cannot define us. But it is our vital work that determines history."

Under heartfelt applause from the guests, the Academy President brought Prof Gret Palucca onto the podium. This ballerina and ballet teacher of Dresden spoke in plain and affecting words of the elan and of the joy in having started academy work, of many debates and useful discussions and beautiful work results. At the same time Palucca also expressed the hope that the Academy of Arts would also play a more active role outside of Berlin.

The Academy of Arts in its 30-year history had gained great distinction in the antifascist-democratic revival of culture and the development of our socialist national culture, Kurt Hager emphasized in his speech, which received cordial applause. "It became the place where outstanding GDR writers, artists and art historians would do their work. Through the art work of its members and the editorial and scientific contributions by its associates it has gained great respect domestic and abroad."

As the priority social problem of our time which also would directly affect all creators of culture the speaker referred to the safeguarding of peace. "Especially in view of the exacerbation of the world political situation by imperialism, and of the responsibility of the forces of peace and social progress for the fate of humanity, special importance attaches to our art and culture in disseminating the ideas of peace and international friendship, for exercising vigilance and readiness for the protection of our socialist achievements. We are sure," he said, "that the Academy of Arts will, as always, raise its voice for peace and assume its responsibility for the combative art of socialist realism. That is an art which, by the means at

its command, passionately defends socialism and unmasks the antihuman nature of imperialism, an art that is dedicated to peace and the supreme human right, the right to live."

In surveying the intellectual situation of the present one could not overlook that the crisis in bourgeois society was also increasingly spreading across the intellectual and cultural areas. Resignation, helplessness and dread were spreading, reflected by the loss of intellectual and moral focus.

There was no feeding ground for that kind of a pessimistic attitude toward life in socialist society. The course resolved on by the eighth and ninth party congresses had proven itself to the fullest as real humanism, and as the basis for social security, for the preservation of human dignity and the unfolding of human capabilities, and for a safe future.

Conscious Coshaper of Our Reality

Touching on developments in our own country, this is what Kurt Hager emphasized: "In the process of the construction and shaping of socialist society, in the GDR and the other socialist countries, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, fundamental goals of the revolutionary workers class have been brought to realization. Socialism in practice has shown these goals, the values of socialism, far from being irrelevant ideals, to be historic achievements which, in the process of the further shaping of the new society, have to be brought to realization more and more extensively." Attempts at placing in doubt the values produced by real socialism, through undialectically opposing the ideal with reality, must not remain unanswered. "For it simply is wrong to gage the social reality of socialism against parameters that are oriented to abstract ideals or even categories of the bourgeois way of life and ideology."

Bringing our humanistic ideals to realization was of course a contradictory process. An active attitude in life was needed to cope with it. "Contradictions, problems, difficulties and impediments that naturally arise in the shaping of the dynamically developing socialist society are challenges to combative personal dedication, to creativity and, not last, to strength of character."

Used, Loved and Understood by the Masses

As far as the creation of art is concerned, we have always advocated an art that is marked by party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and a high content of socialist ideas, that is rooted and works in the life of the workers class and all the people, and that is "used," loved and understood by the masses, Kurt Hager explained. "In our socialist society, art has really become a 'res publica,' the concern of its democratic audience." Thus one should have to appreciate that the Academy of Arts through its various events was carrying on the process providing ideological-theoretical illumination on aspects of the relationship between art and society.

If at this 30th birthday of the Academy of Arts there was less said about the past and more about the problems that have to be coped with, one demand must yet not remain unmentioned to the fulfillment of which especially the Academy could contribute significantly: the demand for artistic mastery, for great art that is relevant to life.

Socialist art would develop to the extent that it was in line with the times, comprehends and fulfills its social mission and participates in the exploration of the great possibilities for proving human excellence and for the development of socialism, and in the elaboration and dissemination of socialist value concepts and the socialist conception of life.

"Many works of art created in recent years focus on the discovery and exploration of highly complicated vital matters for the individual and our society, and that can only be welcomed," the speaker emphasized. "Now we are told by the enemy side this amounted to a withdrawal into the private sphere, a quiet departure from socialism. The eager explorers and zealous critics of our cultural policy beyond our national border cannot comprehend that the urge the individual has for self-realization, his desire to be used, to meet his test and bear his responsibility, far from being in opposition to socialism, precisely constitute those characteristics and values that distinguish the socialist humanism we strive for and bring to realization. They are unable to understand that the personality characteristics of man in socialism form throughout a conflicting process of social understanding and activity and determine, not an opposition, but the conformity between personal and social interests, between the individual and society, all life in our socialist state, even if we do find occasionally tendencies of self-isolation and of alienation from our great and just movement, and even of defecting to the other side of the barricades."

It would be highly beneficial, Kurt Hager emphasized, if the Academy were to continue and address itself to the tasks art and culture have in shaping the ethical values of socialism. It also had a great responsibility for preserving and fostering our cultural legacy and for encouraging a young generation of artists.

"In assuming and exercising its role in the life of our socialist society, the Academy of Arts works as its active and creative coshaper. Increasingly in recent years an atmosphere has developed that is marked by a sense of responsibility and confidence." The Academy's work in public had noticeably grown. Cooperation with corresponding members, mainly with the friendly academies in the fraternal socialist countries, had expanded and deepened.

"In behalf of the party leadership and of our party's Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, as well as in behalf of the Politburo delegation in attendance, I should like to thank the members and associates of the Academy sincerely for their various achievements. Our special gratitude goes to Academy President Comrade Konrad Wolf who, along with his artistic activity, devotes so much of his strength and dedication to the

Academy. We wish him and all of you many new successes, good health and personal well-being."

Then Kurt Hager handed out high government awards. These distinctions were awarded by the chairman of the GDR State Council upon recommendations from the SED Central Committee Politburo and the presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Arts.

High Recognition for Meritorious Work

The founding members of the Academy, Prof Gret Palucca and Prof Dr h. c. Ernst Hermann Meyer, received the "Star of People's Friendship" medal in gold. Dr. h.c. Anna Seghers, who for health reason could not attend the festive event, had previously received that morning the honor clasp for the Patriotic Medal of Merit when Kurt Hager and Konrad Wolf visited her in her apartment. The Academy President conveyed her affectionate regards to the plenum. The Academy's director, Heinz Schnabel, was awarded the Patriotic Medal of Merit in gold, and Dieter Heinze, the general director's first deputy, was given the "Banner of Labor" Medal step II. The Academy's magazine, SINN UND FORM, received the "Banner of Labor" Medal step I. In behalf of the people so honored, Prof Dr Wilhelm Gimus, editor in chief of SINN UND FORM, offered expressions of thanks.

To conclude the festive event, the Academy President had issued invitations for a reception on the premises of the Academy.

Hager Sets Priorities

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 34 No 14, 6 Apr 80 pp 2-3

[Address by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for cultural and scientific affairs, to the plenary session of the GDR Academy of Arts, 26 March 1980: "The Academy of Arts and Socialist Culture"]

[Text] With a festive plenary session the GDR Academy of Arts in Berlin celebrated the 30th anniversary of its founding. It was an occasion for the noted artists and creators of culture from all parts of the country to assess the achievements of the art academy in the development of a socialist national culture and to anticipate future tasks. Academy President Konrad Wolf recalled that the eight and ninth party congress resolutions had broadened the Academy's space for activities, for a climate of trust and for the need to be used.

Great applause greeted the welcoming address from the SED Central Committee which paid tribute to the Academy's high achievements. Prof Gret Palucca, among the Academy's founding members, recalled the hard early years. She, Anna Seghers and Ernst Hermann Meyer, all also founding members of this establishment of humanistic culture, and other associates of the institute received high government awards this day.

SED Central Committee Politburo member Kurt Hager dealt in his speech with the responsibility of the Academy of Arts at present and in the future, which SONNTAG is publishing verbatim in the following.

In its 30-year history, the Academy of Arts has gained great distinction in the antifascist-democratic revival of culture and the development of our socialist national culture. It became the place of work for outstanding GDR writers, artists and art historians. The art works of its members and the editorial and scientific contributions by its associates created great respect for it domestically and abroad.

This is what Johannes R. Becher wrote about the artist and his time: "An artist must keep in tune with his times if he wants to have something to say to his times and if future times are not to forget him." This Academy, it seems to me, does meet that demand in that it, as an academy in a socialist country, has given its attention for quite some time already to the topic of "art and society." The priority social problem of our time, which also affects all creators of culture directly, is that of safeguarding peace. We are experiencing at present the broadly based attempt by aggressive imperialist U.S. and NATO circles to destroy the detente attained in the 1970's, torpedo the policy of peaceful coexistence and steer a confrontation course directed against the Soviet Union and socialism. The balance of power in the world is to be altered in favor of imperialism. By use of the method of "let's catch the thief," through hysterical anti-Soviet agitation and threats of boycott, through breaking off scientific and cultural relations and by other means they seek to befog the situation as it really is and place the burdens for the noticeable worsening of the international situation at the threshold of the 1980's on the Soviet Union.

They may have forgotten, or wish to invest with moral legitimacy, the NATO long-range program, passed already in May 1978, on forceful mobilization, the U.S. "rapid deployment force" for suppressing other peoples, the counter-revolutionary plotting and intrigues against the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan and, above and beyond everything, the NATO decision, passed

in spite of all warnings and jeopardizing peace and detente, to deploy new types of nuclear missiles in Western Europe, meant to carry death and destruction way into the Soviet Union.

Imperialism has caused two devastating world wars and, since the last one, has carried the blame again for more than hundred regional wars or war-like conflicts. Imperialism is and remains dangerous. Proclivity toward adventurism is inherent in it. The peril emanating from it does not mean, however, that the peoples would have to surrender themselves to it discouraged, resigned, fatefully. The essential features of imperialism, marked by aggressiveness and expansionism, and the unpredictability of leading imperialist politicians, while still noticeably affecting world politics, find definite limits set to their designs in our times. The strength of socialism—mainly that of the Soviet Union—has protected mankind from another world war for 35 years. The power of socialism, which includes its military strength, is what, together with the active struggle by the peace forces all over the world, opposes the aggressive forces of imperialism at present. The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other states in the socialist community are resolved to continue the course of detente.

Anyone who wants peace must however make his active contribution to the defense of peace. If Leonid Brezhnev, in answering an appeal by American scientists, pointed out the need to explain the ominous consequences of a nuclear conflict between the United States and the USSR for mankind and to help strengthen the activities of all those that advocated an end to the arms race and a maintenance of normal relations among all countries, including U.S.-USSR relations, this also is of concern to all creators of culture. Especially in view of the exacerbation of the world political situation by imperialism, and of the responsibility of the forces of peace and social progress for the fate of humanity, special importance attaches to our art and culture in disseminating the ideas of peace and international friendship, for exercising vigilance and readiness for the protection of our socialist achievements. We are sure that the Academy of Arts will, as always, raise its voice for peace and assume its responsibility for the combative art of socialist realism. That is an art which, by the means at its command, passionately defends socialism and unmask the antihuman nature of imperialism, an art that is dedicated to peace and the supreme human right, the right to live.

It surely would be wrong to underestimate the seriousness of the current international situation. If we still are optimistic, that optimism is neither based on utopian dreams nor on an illusory overrating of human capacities and possibilities. Our affirmation of life and certitude about the future, which make us cope energetically with all the tempests through which the struggle for peace and socialism leads, are based on the scientifically established and practically confirmed realization by Marxism-Leninism that human progress is not only possible but is inevitable. When in 1913 Lenin made the remark: "We are ardent optimists with respect to the workers movement and its goals" ("Working Class and Neomalthusianism," "Werke" [Works], Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 227), the

Russian proletariat was still only preparing itself for paving the way into the socialist future for mankind. What then still was the goal that had to be fought for hard, today has become social reality for many peoples--in the land of the Red October as in the whole community of the socialist countries.

In surveying the intellectual situation of the present it cannot be overlooked that in the capitalist countries, mainly in the cultural field, resignation and pessimism are spreading. Irrationalism, the contempt for and devaluation of scientific thought, the manner of looking at life as an obscure, oppressive, unfathomable power, are gaining increasing influence on bourgeois ideology. Uneasiness about the present and dread of the future are pervading bourgeois culture and philosophy, all the different social theories and the various models of the future, that is to say, all intellectual life in imperialism. These trends of pessimism and irrationalism are by no means to be explained by "human nature" or as the consequences of scientific-technical progress, as bourgeois ideologists claim they are. They rather are an inseparable component of the general crisis in the capitalist system, reflecting its decline.

In his last public statement, his Schiller speech, the aged Thomas Mann said this: "The last half-century has witnessed a regression of the humane, a waning of culture most ominous in kind, a loss in education, manners, the sense of justice, loyalty and faith, even in plain reliability, which is frightful. Two world wars, breeding crudeness and greed, have deeply lowered the intellectual and the moral level (both belong together!) and have encouraged a disorder that offers but poor assurance against plunging into a third, which would end everything. Fury and fear, superstitious hatred, panic terror and a wild persecution mania dominate a humanity that finds the cosmic space just right for establishing strategic bases in it and mocks solar power in criminally producing weapons of annihilation from it" ("Essay on Schiller," "Ueber deutsche Literatur" [On German Literature], Reclam publishing house, Leipzig, 1968, p 22).

The further development of capitalist society has only lent still more authority to those words by Thomas Mann. Based on the increasing subsistence insecurity of wide circles of the working people, the bourgeois crisis engulfing millions, the spreading demoralization, the commercialization and brutalization emanating from the laws of capital in all public life, and the growing social and political discrimination against the working people also spread the crisis in bourgeois society farther and farther in the intellectual and cultural field. Many of the values and orientations in social as well as individual life that had formerly been accepted generally and as unshakable are now fractured and have become dubious to working men. Resignation, helplessness and dread are spreading rapidly, reflected by the loss of intellectual and moral focus, by the disappearance of meaning from human life.

Among us, that kind of a pessimistic attitude toward life neither finds a social feeding ground nor would it be called for by the development in our country--despite the complication of the international situation and the tasks facing us. The course resolved on by the eighth and ninth party congresses has proven itself to the fullest as real humanism, and as the basis for social security, for the preservation of human dignity and the unfolding of human capabilities, and for a safe future. If one asks how and to what extent the reality of socialist society coincides with the goals the revolutionary workers movement has assigned to itself from the start, the practical situation, life itself, will provide the answer. In the process of the construction and shaping of socialist society, in the GDR and the other socialist countries, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, fundamental goals of the revolutionary workers class have been brought to realization. Socialism in practice has shown these goals, the values of socialism, far from being irrelevant ideals, to be historic achievements which, in the process of the further shaping of the new society, have to be brought to realization more and more extensively.

It is justified and meaningful to raise the question about the realization of our ideals because in answering that question we help deepen the understanding of what we have achieved and still have to achieve. Yet attempts at placing in doubt the values produced by real socialism, through undialectically opposing the ideal with reality, must not remain unanswered. For it simply is wrong to gage the social reality of socialism against parameters that are oriented to abstract ideals or even categories of the bourgeois way of life and ideology.

Our ideas of the new society and how to get to it did also of course contain elements that were rendered more accurate by life itself as we more deeply penetrated the inevitabilities of socialist construction. Some things we may have thought could be attained more rapidly, others we might have imagined were less complicated. In that regard, the knowledge we gained in the construction and development of socialist society was then also a gain in deeper insights into the social prerequisites, conditions and possibilities for attaining the socialist ideals and goals. And that makes all the more sense inasmuch as between the pronouncement and the implementation of ideals there needs must be a more or less extended historic time frame that is marked by creative work and hard struggle.

Moreover, it actually is among the characteristic features of socialist art that it will not only answer the question of where we are but also that of where we are heading, in keeping alive in us the awareness of the future, re-establishing our ideals time and time again, and teaching us to dream in the way Lenin asked us to, in "What Is To Be Done?" by quoting the following observations by Pisarev: "If man were deprived of all ability to dream this way and could not, now and then, rush ahead so as to glance at his work in his imagination as a unified and completed picture which is just beginning to take shape through his efforts, I absolutely cannot imagine what compelling motivation man would have to undertake and complete great and demanding works in art, science and practical life. The gap between dream

and reality is not harmful as long as the dreamer seriously believes in his dream, pays attentive observation to life, compares his observations with his air castles and, altogether, works conscientiously on the attainment of his dream image" ("On Communist Morality," Dietz publishing house, 1965, pp 31-32).

Bringing our humanistic ideals to realization is of course a contradictory process. An active attitude in life is needed to cope with it. Lamentations and wailing, pessimism and resignation, repudiating scientific thought, would not advance us a single step on our good course toward solving the complicated tasks that still have to be coped with. Contradictions, problems, difficulties and impediments that naturally arise in the shaping of the dynamically developing socialist society are challenges to combative personal dedication, to creativity and, not last, to strength of character.

Awareness and creativity are factors that play an extraordinary role in the historic process of penetrating socialist changes in which we are involved actively ourselves. That is especially true for the by no means easy conditions for our struggle in the 1980's. At its 10th and 11th plenum the SED Central Committee has given most realistic assessments of these conditions for our struggle and has made the point that the most important thing is the continued strengthening of our country's economic capacity because on it depends the progress in all other fields. Heavy demands are placed in this regard on the working people's awareness, will to perform and creativity. In other words: consolidating our economic capacity is not merely a matter of economics but also a concern of ideology, ethics, and of the concept and the mode of life of the people in our socialist society. Great importance attaches here to further enhancing the ideological efficacy in the world-outlook of our socialist art and culture.

We have always advocated an art that is marked by party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and a high content of socialist ideas, that is rooted and works in the life of the workers class and all the people, that is used, loved and understood by the masses. In our socialist society, art has really become a "res publica," the concern of its democratic audience. Thus it is only to be appreciated that the Academy of Arts through its various events is carrying on the process providing ideological-theoretical illumination on aspects of the relationship between art and society.

The SED has always let itself be guided by the consideration that socialism is not possible without a thorough revolution in ideology and culture. Even the KPD appeal of 11 June 1945, the first document our party addressed at the German people after the liberation by the glorious Soviet Army nearly 35 years ago, contained this demand: "Purging the whole educational and cultural system from all the fascist and reactionary refuse. Fostering a truly democratic, progressive and libertarian spirit at all schools and teaching institutions. Systematic elucidation of the barbaric nature of the Nazi race theory, the mendacity of the 'Lebensraum doctrine,' the catastrophic consequences to the German people of Hitler's policy. Freedom for

scientific research and the creation of art" (Quoted from "Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" [History of the German Workers Movement], Vol 6, Berlin, p 41).

Our people's spiritual rebirth after the night of fascism certainly constitutes a historic act no less in rank than its economic reconstruction. That was a painful process, we know, for many Germans. A radical reorientation was necessary, which never is easy. We communists had to learn how the spiritual process of life of society is managed in practice. Our outstanding mentors then were the Red Army officers, many scientists and artists in uniform among them, whose firmness in principle, empathy and patience warrant the greatest regard. This spiritual revival was historically necessary. Without it, we could not have established the workers and farmers power, could not have laid the foundations of socialism, and the GDR could not have assumed its place within the socialist community of states alongside the Soviet Union.

Today--35 years later--a favorable climate prevails in our country for theoretical thought and the creation of art. Along with our citizens' constantly improving material standard of living and their social security--and in close interaction with that--the nature of socialism is illuminated especially through all the differentiations found in the working people's socialist conduct, thoughts and sentiments. It is in this sense that the SED program passed by the ninth party congress states that shaping the developed socialist society means "creating all conditions for the social relations and physical and mental capacities of men to be able fully to unfold, providing all possibilities for their being able to invest their lives with content and culture, so that the working people's thoughts and actions are marked by socialist ideology, the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook of the workers class" ("Ninth SED Congress--SED Program," Berlin, 1976, p 22).

From there, heavy demands arise for our literature and art and for all the creators of culture.

If at this 30th birthday of the Academy of Arts less is said about the past and more about the problems that have to be coped with, one demand must yet not remain unmentioned to the fulfillment of which especially the Academy could contribute significantly: the demand for artistic mastery, for great art that is relevant to life.

I am told that when Kammerzaenger Theo Adam at a performance of the opera "Capriccio" by Richard Strauss had ended the aria of the director, the audience gave him a standing ovation. That no doubt was due to that artist's outstanding ability but probably also to the questions and demands raised for art that are contained in the director's aria. Because this is what we find there: "Where are the masterpieces that speak to the hearts of the people, in which their souls are seen reflected? Where are they? I cannot discover them although I keep searching! I find only coldblooded scholars around. They make fun of tradition but bring nothing better!"

Elsewhere the director demands: "Give me human beings for my kind of theater! People who resemble us and speak in our language! Let their sorrow move us deeply and let their joys fill our hearts with gladness! Up! Arise and create the works for which I am searching!"

Many other interesting and relevant spots could be quoted as well. I am not mentioning this aria of course to embarrass the President of the Academy, to ask him to exclaim and shout: "Arise and create the works for which I am searching!"

What I rather have in mind is this: if we are sufficiently self-critical we have to admit that the demand for works that speak to the hearts of the people is a most pertinent and necessary demand placed on our art and culture. For there surely can be nothing more beautiful than works of art that move us, than the harmony between art and the people, art and society, as it is possible only in socialism.

Socialist art develops to the extent that it is in line with its times, comprehends and fulfills its social mission and participates in the exploration of the great possibilities for proving human excellence and for the development of socialism, and in the elaboration and dissemination of socialist value concepts and the socialist conception of life.

Many works of art created in recent years focus on the discovery and exploration of often highly complicated vital matters for the individual and our society, and that can only be welcomed. It involves the place of man in our socialist society, the possibilities for his development and facing his test, the character of relations with other people and with society, his work and love, his finding others and parting from others, honesty and falsehood, the exercise of responsibility, the claim to happiness and the possibilities for realizing it. A discussion of new works of art not infrequently turns into a discussion about the meaning of life as such.

Now we are told by the enemy side this amounted to a withdrawal into the private sphere, a quiet departure from socialism. The eager explorers and zealous critics of our cultural policy from beyond our national border cannot comprehend that the urge the individual has for self-realization, his desire to be used, to meet his test and bear his responsibility, far from being in opposition to socialism, precisely constitute those characteristics and values that distinguish the socialist humanism we strive for and bring to realization. They are unable to understand that the personality characteristics of man in socialism form throughout a conflicting process of social understanding and activity and determine, not an opposition, but the conformity between personal and social interests, between the individual and society, all life in our socialist state, even if we do find occasionally tendencies of self-isolation and of alienation from our great and just movement, and even of defecting to the other side of the barricades.

Culture and art can greatly contribute to shaping the ethical values of socialism. It would be highly beneficial for the Academy of Arts to continue and address itself thoroughly to this problem. In an open and public examination of the role and efficacy of art in our socialist society, the ideas and suggestions of the Academy of Arts will always receive much attention. The Academy at the same time has a great responsibility for preserving and fostering the cultural legacy of our people. The Central Committee secretariat has approved the recommendation made by the Academy to establish research and commemorative facilities for preserving and handing on the best traditions in socialist-realistic, proletarian-revolutionary and humanistic-democratic art which are to continue at a higher grade still the successful work done thus far. And here we take account of the fact that the treasure of the legacy in socialist realism is constantly expanding. Much that we saw happen ourselves has already become part of our legacy. Tapping this legacy time and time again for the new generations is an obligating task.

The Academy of Arts also ought to pay still greater attention to promoting a new generation of artists. That applies not only to the members who are in charge of master classes. Any member of the Academy can convey his experiences to a circle of students. I am thinking here of Bertolt Brecht, whose students at the time have already become teachers of the next artists generation. It was very impressive to read in the journal SINN UND FORM how much Paul Dessau stimulated young composers. The care for a young generation of artists and new artistic blood must be of concern to all of us. What is involved here, after all, is the future of our art and literature of socialist realism.

Also in the ever closer cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states increasing importance attaches to culture and art. As in all other fields, the cultural cooperation among the socialist countries also aims at better quality and efficiency. The reciprocal enrichment of the cultures in the socialist countries demands for the unique national culture of each country to be made more and more pronounced. The culture of the socialist community will be all the richer, the higher the quality of any specific contribution is that any given socialist country can make to its development.

In assuming and exercising its role in the life of our socialist society, the Academy of Arts works as its active and creative coshaper. Increasingly in recent years an atmosphere has developed that is marked by a sense of responsibility and confidence. The Academy's work in public has noticeably grown. Cooperation with corresponding members, mainly with the friendly academies in the fraternal socialist countries, has expanded and deepened.

In behalf of the party leadership and of our party's Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, as well as in behalf of the Politburo delegation in attendance, I should like to thank the members and associates of the Academy sincerely for their various achievements. Our special gratitude goes to Academy President Comrade Konrad Wolf who, along with his artistic activity, devotes so much of his strength and dedication to the Academy. We wish him and all of you many new successes, good health and personal well-being.

CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVENESS OF ECONOMIC INCENTIVES DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 57-64

[Article by Jozef Pajestka, PZPR Central Committee Member, President of the Polish Economic Society: "Socio-economic Progress Motivations"]

[Text] The formation of human motivation is regarded as one of the essential functions of administration in organization and management sciences. We also have some interesting studies and thoughts in this field. It is impossible, however, not to note that the problem of motivating improvement has very broad ramifications and needs to be included within a context of general considerations on the subject of socio-economic development, its strengths and factors. In this context, by motivation I mean the sum total of factors and socio-economic conditions which exert an influence on people's attitudes and activities. This involves what motivates people and emerges, so to speak, from work factors and existence which is external to them, that is, factors such as: inspiration, stimulation, encouragement as well as certain constraints, but not, however, a psychological interpretation of motivation.

This is a much broader concept than "material interest" or "economic incentives" although it also encompasses these problems. I place the main emphasis here on those human attitude conditions which favor progress, which result from the system assumptions of socio-economic policy and the principles of the functioning of the economy, but not an actual motivation of activity in administration. I do not through this want to subvert the enormous significance of the latter but to call attention to something which is not fully appreciated.

During the initial phases of socialist development, primary emphasis was placed on socio-ideological motivations, giving them meanings associated with social emancipation and aspirations of creating a new system, as well as patriotic meanings. These motivations were supplemented by material incentives*) as well as motivations of competition, understood however, as work rivalry pertaining to work crews.

*) Lenin wrote: "Do not build on enthusiasm alone, but exploit the enthusiasm created by the Great Revolution and use people's personal interest, their individual interest, as well as economic account settlement as a take-off point." W. I. Lenin: Works, 33, pp 326-327.

Greater changes in this arsenal of motivational factors have not been introduced in the further development process, although the functioning of individual elements kept changing. However, incentives of material interest were strengthened while competition motivations grew weaker.

Generally speaking, a clear need for intensification or changes in activating development motivations was not felt for some time.

Operating were motivational factors which were due to the country's various socio-economic development undertakings. Irrespective of motivations initiated directly by policy, motivational factors resulting from the country's various socio-economic development undertakings were functioning. Particular attention needs to be paid to them inasmuch as they often go unnoticed.

An important role was played by social promotion motivations (personnel ones) particularly during the beginning phases of the country's socialist development which were created by the big need for new management staffs as well as a conscious policy in this field. In my opinion, great horizontal social mobility (the migration of people to western lands, and from farms to cities), as well as vertical social mobility (vocational and qualificational advancement), associated with the country's rapid socio-economic transformations had great significance in shaping motivations. A change of environment operates motivationally because it facilitates the breaking of routine ties and tradition. It creates a new "challenge" to people which they want to and must cope with. The civilizing progress of the village population had an equally great motivational significance. It brought about the entrance of new, strongly motivated groups into vocational and political careers, something that was a fundamental factor of social dynamism. Educational progress motivation created by broadened educational possibilities, as well as various sociological factors operating in our conditions must also be mentioned.

Although these are matters which are very difficult to evaluate, I believe it is necessary to confirm a certain weakening in the operation of the factors named above. The basic reason for this is the decreased intensity of socio-economic transformations, something which is a natural result of the development process. The formation of social structures and a certain amount of petrification has occurred, as has also the formation of relatively stable staff structures in the economic, administrative and political apparatus. Broad international contacts which have a motivational impact have to some extent become a new element. Their power of action cannot, however, be compared with the one which appeared during the period of the country's great socio-economic transformations.

Finally, attention needs to be turned to certain fundamental system assumptions of socialism which have motivational consequences.

Essentially, socialism weakened motivations relative to the struggle for existence by assuring full employment, the state's taking over care of older people, as well as the growing level of care over the young generation. Our country has special attainments in this field, particularly in recent years, which we justifiably emphasize. Regardless, however, of the great social values of these attainments, it is impossible not to see that they have weakened the individual's and his closest ones' struggle for existence which through ages and ages constituted the basic motivation of human activity. Turning away from these socialist solutions which are completely justified, and to which mankind all over the world is moving, is not involved. It is, however, necessary to understand that development motivations which are weakened by this must be replaced by other factors which motivate people's activity.

Socialism also negated motivations of the competitive struggle which is a certain kind of struggle over the existence of economic organizations. Through this it weakened strong development motivations--motivations of competition, countering them with benefits resulting from harmonious operation with which social development planning should be facilitated. Harmonization of activity should not, however, cancel the harmonization of competition between various economic organizations, and planning does not exclude motivating progress. Leaving aside discussion of this matter, it is again necessary to state that if there is a resignation from these types of motivation, they must be replaced with others, otherwise the general system of motivation will become subject to fundamental impairment.

The foregoing review of motivational factors gives rise to a very basic question: why was so little attention paid in the past to socio-economic motivations of progress? Why were studies not made in this field and innovations in policy introduced after the first phase of forming the socialist system? In effect, it needs to be noted that the main arsenal of motivational factors formed during the Leninist period has not been subjected to greater changes to this day. The fact that this problem was not presented or noted by the socio-economic sciences could have some significance here. However, I do not believe that this actually has decisive significance.

The fact of the matter, it seems, depends on this: if economic development is based primarily on quantitative factors which, for example, take advantage of increased employment possibilities and the increase in durable assets through investment, then it is easy not to observe the significance of socio-economic development motivations. This does not mean that they have no significance in general, however, their non-appreciation does not, for some time interfere with attaining a relatively high development rate.

However, the matter undergoes a fundamental change when extensive growth capabilities become exhausted and it is necessary to switch to intensive factors--to basing development on increased management effectiveness and

broad innovative dynamism. It is precisely these tasks which stand before us. The thesis 'development for the individual, by the individual' was formulated by our policy for these conditions of the development process. Actually, development by the individual presents the matter of socio-economic development motivations as a fundamental problem. It must be approached as a matter of principle and as a composite unity. To a great extent, success in raising the effectiveness of management, and along with this, overall success of the country's socio-economic development depends to a great degree on skill in resolving the problem. This problem emerges particularly sharply because it is precisely in this period of historical development when activity motivations have the most decisive significance, that impairment of a series of motivational factors has appeared. This is evident in our country as well as in other socialist countries.

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As we said, the principal factor conditioning the further success of the country is raising the effectiveness of management. It is also necessary to accept that the principal way to resolve management effectiveness is the proper formation of human activity motivation. The formation of progress motivation is no less important than many matters on which we concentrate attention, for example, foreign trade and investment. At any rate, one need not contrast these problems. What is involved is getting political-economic activists and scientists to become more interested in the problems of motivation. A take-off point here is understanding that more often improvement can be attained by the formation of suitable motivations of human activity rather than, for example, by orders.

It was already indicated that socialism impaired the struggle-for-existence motivation, as well as negated the competitive struggle motivation. They need to be replaced by other motivations. Socialism adopted the motivation of material interest (material incentives) consistent with the socialist principle of pay according to work. It is, however, necessary to be aware of the fact that these motivations cannot function as strongly as they do under capitalism because we do not want to accept a big differentiation in income. The problem is not really whether one wants something or not. It concerns such conditions in parcelling which are appropriate to what society recognizes as fitting and just.

Basically, motivations of material interest can, however, be strengthened through acting jointly with motivations arising from the peculiarity of socialism--from the social ownership of the means of production. I believe that this is actually the basic problem for strengthening socio-economic development motivations. Social ownership integrates society, it strengthens the union of social goals, and also facilitates the elimination of differences in life's chances and many rationality restrictions. Many-sided, socio-moral progress motivations can develop on this foundation. The following ones, in particular, need to be named:

- concern for the social good, patriotism, a feeling of social responsibility,

- satisfaction from a creative shaping of life, alike in materio-technical solutions as well as in organizational-economic innovations, shaping the environment, beauty of the surroundings, et cetera,

- incentives for group cooperation, solidarity, responsibility for collective attainments,

- incentives for competition between economic organizations toward better satisfaction of social needs, demonstrating better results, and at the same time a compulsion to not remain behind and function at the expense of others,

- social promotion--the trend toward occupying a high place in the social hierarchy, social recognition of the individual, et cetera.

These types of socio-moral development motivations need not be contrasted material interest, but actually both of these matters ought be joined so that together they could strengthen their activity. This is possible and essential but it cannot be done of itself. It will not be enough to appeal to social consciousness for socio-moral development motivations to function smoothly and give rise to dynamism. It is necessary first of all to create favorable economic and organizational conditions for their operation, and also to have them in mind while guiding socio-political activity and personnel policy. Actually, the most important matters here in my opinion are the following ones.

Broadening the scope of authority, increasing the responsibility of economic organizations and local organs and especially, expanding self-financing development is indispensable. Socio-moral incentives can be blunted if a person motivated by the good of society wants to demonstrate his own input but has limited capabilities of action.

Expansion of development and improvement self-financing ought to evoke a very essential union: better results--better possibilities--still better results. Progress here depends in substantially greater measure on own effort, own initiative and ingenuity and not on what central authorities "acknowledge." Self-financing cannot, of course, be the sole base, however, it can be radically broadened in contrast to existing practice.

The interweaving of socio-moral motivations with material interest demands the linkage of rewards tying salaries with improvement in management effectiveness. This thesis had already been announced at the Sixth Congress. It was gradually brought to life, however, its implementation was subsequently checked. Actually, broadening the scope of economic organization authority and material interest in raising efficiency provide a basic solution of human motivation orientation in effective management. Of

course there are many problems of a practical nature which arise here but we already have enough actual experience to resolve them properly.

Tying the increase in earnings in with efficiency can, however, operate effectively when the earnings of those employed are associated primarily with the regular place of employment. If various "side" incomes are very large compared to earnings in the regular place of employment, that impairs interest in improving the work of one's own organization. Employment then is rather a "formal" matter and people orient themselves in other methods and possibilities of obtaining incomes. Commitment to work, everything which links a person with the group in his own organization, its success and attainments disappears. The matter of earnings on the side demands special examination and consideration. I do not believe, however, that its solution could come about through an administrative order.

Side incomes arise most frequently outside the pay policy, and of course there is no doubt that they can impair the basic assumptions and goals of the pay policy. Their formation is linked most frequently with various finance policy solutions, or the make-up of market conditions and prices. However, policy circumstances other than the shaping of human motivations through incomes operate in these areas. Let us consider one example, the incomes of the unorganized services sector. I have in mind here workers taking various jobs on the side--construction, overhaul, maintenance, minor repair, et cetera in an unorganized manner "on their own." This activity is socially useful because it satisfies very important though minor human needs. Combatting it by administrative methods does not make much sense nor augur good results. Its negative results must, however, be combatted, and one of them is lucrativeness which appears over and over in no kind of understandable proportion to earnings in the regular place of employment.

How does this come about? The underdevelopment of the organized services activity, the high prices charged by socialized enterprises, together with the utilization of high surcharges in calculating charges have a fundamental significance here. These surcharges go for the maintenance of a large administrative superstructure and profits. Workers who take private jobs and receive prices similar to those charged by enterprises take over those surcharges, and receive earnings which bear no relation to work input.

The answer here cannot be a prohibition on charging such prices, but a review of the bases for calculating prices for services, and a reorganization of the administrative system which leads to a basic reduction in the cost of the administrative superstructure. Thus, the way leads not through direct action on the earnings segment, but by curing the situation which is their cause. A general conclusion is that someone must watch over the entirety of income formation and its motivational impact. In our system of state organs there is no institution which would be concerned with this.

Linking the increase in compensation with improvement in management effectiveness demands great effort for the purpose of assuring effectiveness "objectivity." This primarily concerns not having inefficient activity and erroneous decisions covered up so easily by subsidies or financial relief. Branches which do not attain good economic results cannot have an "easy life" and easily cover their weaknesses out of the social pocket. Staffs administering organizations which do not obtain good economic results ought not to receive high rewards for any kind of partial results, et cetera, just as if everything went well, normally.

To be sure, these problems demand a much more comprehensive consideration because their solution encounters many complications. It is necessary, however, to gradually move away from the fact that the systems of compensation do not take into consideration objective effectiveness, because without this criteria of management effectiveness they cannot operate effectively enough. This, above all, concerns management staffs.

After having introduced the principle that increases in compensation (pay fund) depends on an improvement in management effectiveness, it is necessary to consider passing from the principle of setting pay increase indices in the National Socio-Economic Plan [NPSG] to the principle of setting definitive parameters as to how compensation increases in relation to improved effectiveness (the profitability of increased efficiency). This matter has several aspects. It will be unusually difficult to elevate the role and scope of the 5-year plan, which is one of our basic system assumptions, without introducing long-term pay parameters. The annual plan continues to be the dominating planning instrument, something which deprives economic organizations of the larger time perspective essential for efficient undertakings. In effect, the establishment and graded parcelling out of pay indices make dependence of increases in compensation on effectiveness a fiction. Establishing and reckoning up the pay fund remains the domain of auctions and pressures, and not an orienting lever of progress which motivates efficiency. The method of establishing and parcelling out pay indices can lead to the cancellation of the motivational impact of increased earnings, particularly during the next few years when the possibilities for increases in earnings are very limited because of objective causes. Motivationally, as well as from socio-political considerations, it is better not to confirm (in the form of NPSG decisions) the impossibilities of a rapid increase in incomes, but to condition them on improvement in effectiveness. We have a sufficient amount of practical experience to establish that dependence in a way which will not lead to an impaired economic balance.

It is necessary to expend the use of such principles of managing organizations and the operation of economic organizations in direct contact with the consumer, so that competitive economic motivations will function strongly to better satisfy social needs. This pertains to the catering industry, trade, services and the production of finished consumer goods (with small goods production in first place). Rivalry over better

satisfaction of the people's needs is socially useful and it is not necessary to mix it up with the principle of market competition which is a mechanism of the allocation of resources on an overall social scale. A condition of this rivalry is the substitution of large monopolistic type organizations with a very expanded management by small socialist enterprises strongly dependent on economic results. We have entered on this road in introducing the new economic-financial system of small goods production. It must be consistently implemented and expanded further on the basis of observations of various aspects of functioning. This kind of development of socialist enterprises operating in direct contact with the consumer which flexibly adjust to people's needs and care about the best possible services for people, by their existence will restrict the field to various kinds of private activity, or at any rate, will influence more socially useful and acceptable operation.

It is also necessary to consider the method of implementing the principle of full employment so that it not only favors full employment but also rational employment and increased motivation to work well.

Giving all people an opportunity for suitable employment is one of the fundamental and commendable goals of socialism. There now are no foundations for withdrawal from it nor will there be any in the future. We cannot, however, have a situation in which individuals of low social morals feed on this great goal as a citizen right. A new situation must arise for them in which it will be difficult for them to get a good job if they have violated their rights. For the right to work must go hand in hand with responsibility for good work.

The objectivization of effectiveness and the tying of increases in compensation with improvement in efficiency ought to be used in selecting personnel. Through this it is necessary to open the way to young, dynamic workers who want to prove themselves, who are ready for innovations of any type, resourceful and not afraid of reasonable risk. This should strengthen personnel promotion motivations which, on a broad scale, are weak and are not based on improvement criteria in actual management effectiveness. It is also necessary to strongly publicize personnel attainments in economic improvement and innovations, and in creating models of a dynamic economic activist. This is an unusually necessary cultural model in our society and ought to have a substantially higher rank than it now has.

There still are many other matters which have a great motivational influence on people. This does not involve presenting a complete list of them, but that the wide need for the expansion of social improvement motivations should be noted. That is the basic problem. It is necessary to take leave of the narrow understanding of motivations by bringing them only to material interest incentives. Neither can one delude oneself that

socio-moral motivations can be resolved only by appealing to people's consciousness. At any rate, this acts ever more weakly. These motivations are formed by shaping interhuman relations, the way the economy operates and socio-economic policy. Travelling that line can free powerful social improvement factors, because potential human capabilities are much much greater than is often assumed.

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ORGANIZATIONAL VICISSITUDES OF COOPERATIVES DISCUSSED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 17, 26 Apr 80 p 7

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Walczak, chairman of the Production-Services Labor Cooperative in Poznan, by Piotr Luczka: "Reorganizations"]

[Text] This article by Piotr Luczka is the third in our new series "Horizontally and Vertically," a daily newspaper summary of organizational structures spanning several years. The first was the article by Witold Pavlovski, "Knapsacks and Desks" (No 15), and the second was by Danuta Zagrodzki, "What a Voivodship leader Can Do" (No 16).

[Question] Why are the labor cooperatives in our country constantly re-organized from top to bottom? In the last 5 years, since 1975, they have been reformed several times, with voivodship cooperative unions being liquidated and recreated, and national cooperative unions being formed and then dissolved. Reforms are always accompanied by a great deal of instablizing activity in uniting and dividing existing cooperatives, deciding on new names and changes in official signs, regrouping administrative cadres and reshuffling authority between levels.

[Answer] The labor cooperatives were reformed for the first time when the administrative division of our country was changed, creating new voivodships. This produced a need to adjust the local cooperative organizations to the new administrative map of Poland. It was not possible to create a voivodship cooperative union in every new voivodship, because there was a drive against expanding the administrative apparatus in general and, in addition, there was no justification for this when a voivodship had few cooperatives. The CZSP [Central Union of Labor Cooperatives] in Warsaw, following these premises, put an end to the existing voivodship cooperative labor unions throughout the country and created national unions of labor cooperatives as branch organizations. A gap became evident in this organizational system: someone still had to represent the locally dispersed cooperatives to the local authorities where they conducted their

activity. The voivodship leader also wished to carry on discussions with one chairman who represented all local cooperatives, and not personally deal with a dozen chairmen. If the local press reported that there was a dirty towel hanging somewhere in a barbershop, the voivodship leader then discussed the matter with the chairman of the voivodship union, and not with the barber cooperative. Therefore voivodship production-services labor cooperatives were formed, not only as an organizational superstructure, but also as an independent economic enterprise. This lasted 3 years, because a new reorganization then took over.

In 1978 the voivodship production-services labor cooperatives were dissolved and the voivodship union of labor cooperatives was formed, to be eliminated 3 years later, along with some national unions of cooperatives existing since the time of the previous reorganization. However, these changes did not mean a return to the previous state, because the new voivodship unions were already adjusted to the new voivodship boundaries. On the other hand, this year the so-called "200" system is being introduced into the labor cooperatives, on the basis of which some of the labor cooperatives must be directly subordinate to the voivodship leaders and separated from their mother cooperative organizations.

[Question] Counterreforms in a short time attest to the fact that the reformers were not resolute.

[Answer] There is more than one view on how labor cooperatives should be organized in the country, and in practice answers are being sought for the doubts which the various organizational variations arouse. However, it is impossible to force open doors. In cooperative tradition looking for new solutions by means of experimentation is completely unnecessary. General patterns, such as the WOC (Large Economic Organizations) in their time, brought advantages to the state enterprises, but produced confusion in the labor cooperatives because they introduced needless innovations. The entire institutional structure of cooperatives is based on micro-effectiveness, with each intent on economic advantages which are frequently verified, and thus not requiring any supplementary measures. Planners in exploiting this mechanism, for example, planning for cooperative economic activity, do not balance the resources with the economic tasks as they do elsewhere, because the assumption is always made that the enterprise itself must always compensate for the lack of resources by its initiative and operations, and actually it does so. Therefore I would say that the labor cooperatives do not need experiments, but rather patience in order to be able to demonstrate their own values and time for cooperative democracy and independence.

[Question] What is the direction, and what is the goal, of the reforms carried out during the past 5 years?

[Answer] I believe that two competitive organizational concepts clash in the labor cooperatives. One claims that a local organizational system is best for cooperatives, and that therefore they should be organized into voivodship unions of labor cooperatives and aim at maximal contacts with local authorities. On the other hand the second concept claims that a branch organizational system is best for cooperatives, and that therefore they should be organized into national labor cooperatives and function on branch criteria. The dispute has not been settled, and each concept has its supporters and opponents. One concept is victorious, reforms cooperatives according to its recommendations, but only half realizes them, and then the other concept becomes dominant and begins a new reorganization. This has been the mechanism of reorganization in the last 5 years but, in my opinion, stabilization is already coming to this field, since neither of the concepts is able to demonstrate absolute superiority over its competitor.

[Question] What can you say for and against, let us say, the national unions of labor cooperatives?

[Answer] In the opinion of old cooperative members, branch unions are economically sounder organizations than voivodship unions. They are capable of solving their own problems by themselves and developing economically, because they can better organize their technological facilities and specialized services, and can guarantee the sale of goods and production deliveries. It is easier to concentrate resources and economic activities in branches than in locally dispersed organisms, and therefore the branch unions are distinguished by greater dynamic activity. These obvious virtues completely lose their meaning when the cooperatives conduct predominantly local business, making use of local sources of raw materials and producing mainly for the needs of the local market. Cooperatives of local economic importance should be organized in local unions, because there is no justification for directing them from a central point.

[Question] What has basically changed in these 5 years, since first the national unions of labor cooperatives were formed and again dissolved with a preference for competitive solutions?

[Answer] We have already mentioned what caused one reform, the one in 1975. Later, however, when the new local authorities grew stronger, they generally began to feel a need to influence the local market and voivodship economy. The voivodship leaders complained that they had no influence on the results of the labor cooperatives left in the voivodships, that production did not supply the local market and so forth. Let us say that there was a National Union of Construction Cooperatives with headquarters in Poznan and therefore the administration in Poznan decided whether and to what extent repairs would be made for the populace in Rzeszow and Krakow, and not the voivodship leaders in Rzeszow and Krakow. This had some justification from the cooperative point of view. After all, the national union was guided by an attempt to use the cooperative economic

potential on a branch scale and to develop it as much as possible, which might be at odds with local interests. But if a cooperative enterprise in a voivodship is the one rendering construction services, no local authority would want to accept decisions made outside its boundaries. For instance, in its time there appeared a National Union of Production-Services Labor Cooperatives headquartered in Warsaw, planning services for the populace in the area, and the voivodship leaders contributed advisory opinions. The question arose as to who might know which services the populace in the Kalisz voivodship might need, the Kalisz voivodship leader or the central office in Warsaw. The elimination of some branch organizations in favor of voivodship organizations simply went too far in some cases and became somewhat mechanical. For example, such specific cooperatives as a fishing cooperative or a polygraph cooperative could not be subordinated to voivodship unions, as was done, because they can only develop properly in a branch organization.

[Question] Therefore it is not only concepts which clash in cooperatives, as you said, but also the two centers of economic disposition, the local and the branch ones, which scramble to increase their administrative influence over the fate of the labor cooperatives by initiating reorganization.

[Answer] Speaking objectively, this is one criterion of reform integrity: the organizational serves the development of the enterprise and its economic activity. If it does not serve, it must be changed, and if it serves, it must be preserved and maintained. Wrecking what is good never leads to a good conclusion, and also arouses general dissatisfaction, and need not be researched by inquiries because it is obvious. Every reorganization contrary to this criterion serves only parochial interests.

[Question] On the other hand, which organizational systems are the cooperative chiefs most anxious to have? Which direction in organizational reforms enjoys the greatest support from the middle ranks of the labor cooperatives? Orientation toward local or toward branch centers?

[Answer] If the cooperatives have any possibility of choice, they go where they have assured, steady and regular supplies of raw materials and other materials, where they have guaranteed allotments of good, modern machinery and equipment, in short, where they can enjoy economic privileges making their economic development possible, or at least not reducing their chances for economic development. Since many of the investment goods and goods supplied in our country are regulated, and since there is a struggle for their allotment, institutional structures are preferred which improve their bids. The method by which cooperatives settle with the state budget is important, namely whether they pay taxes to the local budget or to the central budget. There is a different attitude, and particularly much greater aid for the voivodship authorities, when the cooperatives pay their taxes to the local budget. As a consequence the local authorities are interested in the development of the cooperatives, interested in removing various barriers in their way, and provide organizational, cadre, material and other aid. The local authorities then speak of such cooperatives as "our enterprise, produces for our market."

There is another criterion of choice, not of an economic character, but still sometimes essential for the cooperative leaders. The directors of different cooperatives have good and bad examples of cooperation with local authorities, and these experiences, acquired over a long period of time, can permanently encourage or discourage all attempts at closer association between the cooperatives and these authorities. This experience is not all one-sided, and therefore the chairmen themselves have different types of partiality. It is probable that older cooperative workers cultivate a certain model of cooperation between the cooperative and the local authorities, namely free cooperation, so to say, with problems, or joint discussion or consideration as to how to solve a certain problem which requires concerted decisions, and are programmed to oppose so-called leading by the hand. Incompetent intervention by a local administration which interferes in the rights of the chairman as if a cooperative were a section of some local agency, particularly thwarts close relations with local authorities. This quite often leads to disruption of the specific cooperative forms of collective direction of the enterprise. Under such circumstances antagonized chairmen may prefer branch cooperative organization because it guarantees cooperatives a certain amount of autonomy in relations with local authorities. For example, an old cooperative worker remembers that just a couple of years ago he decided the scope of one matter or another, while now the local authorities no longer ask for his opinion. Third and finally, the most difficult thing in reorganization is to successfully solve the problem of integrating the directors of different cooperatives. Uniting and dividing cooperatives has a first personnel effect on the specific interests of the leaders: position, personal influence, operating bonuses, mileage, prestige and so forth. Reorganization is threatening and arouses fear of being unseated from the saddle, and therefore the chiefs support or reject as a function of what their own fate can expect. If the ambitions of these people are satisfied and a maximum feeling of threat is avoided, they will be on the side of reorganization, their resistance to change will disappear, and everything in their view will support the new measures.

[Question] That is why so many high positions are always created. Did the chairmen of the cooperatives which became cooperative components after the reorganization and which you now direct, defend the previous organizational structure or, on the other hand, did they support reorganization? Does the new organizational structure in which they now find themselves satisfy their professional and other ambitions or, on the contrary, would they be inclined to further reform it?

[Answer] Our present cooperative came into existence as a result of uniting 16 previously independent cooperative enterprises, and this new organism has been successful in completely integrating itself, forming an economic unit internally compact, economically strong and capable of development. Therefore in my opinion it is not rent internally as a result of constant reorganization. Thanks to the successful internal integration,

which unfortunately has not been the case in the majority of united cooperatives, we have attained a high dynamic level in the course of recent years, but unfortunately not every labor cooperative in the country is as good as ours from this aspect. It is a very difficult task to form one compact enterprise from several economic units, often inclined to separation, but without it it is practically impossible to conduct normal, effective economic activity.

[Question] Agreed, but there is more talk of a coming reorganization of labor cooperatives. Is this merely a common rumor?

[Answer] I do not know. On the other hand, we constantly feel an urge to improve the organization which exists, because it does not seem to be sufficiently good. Here I am particularly thinking of the cooperative institution which I direct, among others, or the former Voivodship Production-Services Labor Cooperative. After the recurrent organization of 1978, when the WZSP [Voivodship Union of Labor Cooperatives] was formed again, it was recommended that we change the name of the cooperative so that the word "voivodship" would not figure in it, so we devised "production," and it has remained so until today. However, at first, as I have already said, we had to integrate 16 cooperatives which had previously been independent and were then designated for union. When we achieved this, new reorganization was begun, and units which now had to function as independent labor cooperatives were separated from our cooperative. In this way there has recently been a separation, for example, of the Gniezno section of our cooperative and the formation of an independent enterprise from it. We acted similarly with one of the Poznan sections, and now we are working to transform another section into an independent photographic cooperative in Poznan.

[Question] What is all of this for? You admit that reorganizations are numerous and that each is prompted by some partially different goal, and that they have a very bad reputation in the very environment of the cooperatives which are waiting for organizational stability.

[Answer] I agree, but we must finally organize what was left after previous reorganizations for organization. You see, after numbers have exceeded a certain threshold of branches concentrated in one institution, which has happened to us, cooperatives begin to operate considerably worse. We already do almost everything, beginning with the fact that we construct greenhouses and finishing with the fact that we teach children music in music centers, and this is not good. It is certainly easier to enumerate what we do not do than to mention the branches in which we do work. Experience in the cooperative movement shows that cooperatives with

a wisely designed branch profile work more effectively than multibranch cooperatives, especially after the optimum number of branches has been exceeded. This viewpoint became dominant in 1975, when we began to form national unions of labor cooperatives which, however, did not remain viable because of the pressure of new organization....

That is enough! We thank you for the interview.

6806

CSO: 2600

MARX' SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL VALUES STRESSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 7 Feb 80 p 19

[Article by Radu Florian: "Marx and National Values"]

[Text] A deeply rooted prejudice attributes to Marx' work, expressly or by implication, an underestimate of the period and national values in the historical development of society and the peoples. Unless forestalled by real partisan conviction, it has been fostered by the fact that Marx' and Engels' ideas about this problem, scattered over many works and articles, had to be correlated, in the absence of any united exposition, by a painstaking effort to reveal their inner articulation and theoretical coherence. This difficulty was aggravated by misinterpretation of the historicity of some wrong judgments that appeared on the body of the theory in the course of its development.

But the reproach of Marx' work is invalid in this case too, because it overlooks the latter's historically determined character. It can be judged only by its given form and not as anyone in our time would have it, just as it is absurd to claim that a scientific work, especially one that blazes a new trail, will contain no errors or contradictions and will be the embodiment of complete and absolute truths from its first beginnings.

The prejudice to which I refer also originated in the unjustified attribution to Marx' work of errors committed in the political action of one kind or another of the revolutionary process and difficulties caused by constantly ignoring the national values in building the new order and failing to observe them strictly in determining the relations among the states engaged in this process.

Essentially, the inconsistency of this prejudice is due to the fact that Marxist thought includes a particular theory of the nation that is of great documentary (for its form) and current significance.

It inaugurates the scientific approach to the nation as a social phenomenon and a feature of the formation and development of capitalism. From this standpoint, it views the formation of the nation as the expansion of the area

of socialization of an ethnic community, that is the area of manifestation of its role as a historical subject. In describing the bourgeoisie's role in this process, Marx and Engels wrote, "The bourgeoisie increasingly suppresses fragmentation of the production means, property and the population (...). Independent provinces that were merely confederated and had different interests, laws, governments and tariffs were incorporated in a single nation with a single government, a single law, a single national class interest and a single customs border." (1) In other words the formation of the nation, by its characteristics, is opposed to the natural, autarchic economy peculiar to feudalism and its characteristic political and administrative fragmentation.

The nation, in the sense of this text, appears as a result of integration of identical or similar populations by economic, political and spiritual means.

The text describes the nation's economic and political bond, but not the social basis (bases) for its incorporation of given territories and populations. However that can be determined on the basis of other fragments. The first is one in "German Ideology" stating that "History is merely the succession of the various generations..." (2) or in other words the succession of manifestations of a society in its aspect as a subject. This means that a historical phenomenon like the nation is based upon a common history.

The second fragment, which occurs in the works preliminary to "Capital," confirms this view in a historical reference to the German feudal community to the effect that the inner unity of its members "... flows from their common genealogy and language, their common past and their common history..." (3) What is true of the feudal community, the primary matrix of subsequent evolution to the nation, is all the more true of the nation because it integrated the populations related by a common language and history into a single people.

Marx and Engels also included a nation's intellectual output among its distinctive features, seeing in it one of the manifestations of national differences and the national character. A comment in "The Holy Family" is revealing in this regard, to the effect that "The difference between French and English materialism corresponds to the difference between the two nations. The French lent English materialism a soul, flesh and blood, and eloquence. They gave it the temperament and grace that it still lacked. They civilized it." (4) These lines convey not so much a scientific analysis as a metaphorically expressed intuition that hardly required cognitive determinations. Their value lies in posing the problem of a national intellectual characteristic that also affects some areas of philosophical thought under certain circumstances. In other words they open up a field of investigation that is still inadequately explored today.

In revealing the inseparable tie between the formation of capitalism and that of the nation, Marxist thought brings out its historical role in social progress and in accelerating the latter. The continuity of development of the production means that expedite social development is not maintained until the nations are formed. Marx and Engels wrote, "Whether or not the productive forces and especially the inventions created in a community are lost to future

development entirely depends upon expansion of contacts... At the dawn of history every invention had to be made again every day and independently in each individual community... Maintenance of the created productive forces is not assured until the exchange becomes a worldwide exchange and is based upon heavy industry and all nations are involved in competition." (5) The proper conclusion is that the nations bring about conservation of social energy and the simplification and stimulation of the historical process.

Meanwhile the nations cause an expansion of the area of socialization of history, being an objective factor for its generalization.

The relationship between the historical and class character of the nations was unknown before Marx and Engels. The class determination of the formation of the nation was long hidden from true knowledge because the bourgeoisie, in its revolutionary stage, appeared as the representative of all society and its interests coincided with those of the subordinated classes. Soon realizing that the bourgeoisie uses its national policy and consciousness as a means of fixing the proletariat in its orbit, Marx and Engels looked for an answer to the question of the relationship between the national ideal and that of the social and political emancipation of the working class.

A first point in this answer was made by emphasizing the interdependence between fulfillment of the national ideal and emancipation of the working class, the former being a necessary premise of the struggle for socialism. Marx' analysis of relations between England and Ireland is an example of this view. On the basis of the fact that England was using the oppression of Ireland and prevention of its formation as an independent state as a means of manipulating the proletariat Marx wrote, "This antagonism between the proletarians in England is artificially maintained and fostered by the bourgeoisie. They know that this difference is the real secret of the maintenance of their power... In a word... what ancient Rome told us in grand style is being repeated in England. The people that enslaves another people forges its own chains." (6) The idea unquestionably means that the proletariat must reject any form of national oppression that prevents the independence of its political consciousness and activity and must engage in the struggle for liberation of the dominated nations and peoples. The clear option for consistent democracy in relations between national groups led Marx to develop the principle of the oppressed nations' and peoples' right to self-determination.

Marxism accordingly conceives a new national idea or consciousness, differing from that of the bourgeoisie, that denies that advancement of its own nation requires oppression of another or national inequality. This brings the democratic-revolutionary idea of equality of nations and all national groups (shared by N. Balcescu for example) to its ultimate conclusion and it becomes a component of the implementation of social and political democracy by the working class.

A second point in the answer developed by Marxism brings out the popular aspect of the national phenomenon. Whereas for the bourgeoisie the nation is equivalent to its single class interest, for the proletariat it is identical with the

interests of the subordinate popular social groups and of the formation of a national unity that will implicitly be one free of class antagonisms. Marx and Engels had this in mind when they wrote that "... the proletariat must... rise to the rank of a national class and must be constituted in itself as a nation, and it is still national itself but by no means in the bourgeois sense." (7) This means the struggle for social emancipation of the proletariat is necessarily one for the progress and development of the nation.

Marx' conception of the socialist revolution and the new order as the manifestations of a real, authentic national unity clearly emerges from a text on the consequences of the Paris Commune: "The unity of the nation was not to be destroyed but on the contrary it was to be organized on the basis of the Commune system. The unity of the nation was to become a reality through annihilation of the state power, which claimed to be the embodiment of this unity but wished to be independent of the nation and to place itself above it, although it was merely a parasitic excrescence on its body." (8) The significance of these lines is particularly profound because they were written at a time when France was suffering a serious territorial loss as a result of the war in 1870. It was a truthful reply to the insinuations about the so-called antinational character of Marxism. They also indicate that for Marx the idea of the nation had a fundamental determination, that of society's general interests regarded as identical with those of the producers. This gives rise to another feature of the Marxist idea of the nation, that of institution of a social and political democracy subordinated to society's control.

The formation of the working class in a nation requires its revolutionary struggle to have a profoundly national character in all stages of its development. "In form even if not in content, the proletariat's struggle with the bourgeoisie is primarily a national struggle." (9) The proletariat's effort, if it is to succeed, must take account of the social conditions under which it is conducted and the history of their origin and manifestation in a series of national values, determinations and products. This is the main idea that runs throughout Marx' analyses of particular historical situations. The national character of the revolution is the expression of its popular roots and of its capacity to mobilize the nation's subordinate classes, to fight in the nation's defense, and to develop measures in keeping with the values of the given society.

Nevertheless the fact remains that by virtue of its objective, economic position the proletariat has fundamentally identical interests in the main capitalist countries. But they take the form of characteristically national interests in each country according to its developmental stage, the balance of class power, its political traditions and cultural level, and the priorities on its activity. Therefore the international solidarity of the working class demands the struggle for the equality and independence of all nations as essential to their social and national self-determination.

It should be noted that Engels' works show a significant evolution from a narrow and inadequate treatment (for reasons that cannot be discussed here) of the relationship between the national liberation of oppressed peoples and the

socialist revolution (Because at first he denied some nations' right to independence on the ground that it would conflict with the socialist revolution) to a view that centered upon the unbreakable bond between the revolutionary process and observance of all peoples' national interests and values. Some texts in works written toward the end of Engels' life are revealing in this respect. In a first fragment he observed: "If members of the Internationale belonging to a dominant nation asked the nation that was subjugated and still oppressed to forget its nationality and particular situation and to 'leave aside the national differences' etc., this would not be internationalism but purely and simply a pretext for subjugation and an attempt to justify and perpetuate the conqueror's dominance under the mask of internationalism." (10)

In another text Engels wrote, "No sincere international collaboration of European nations is possible unless each of these nations is entirely independent in its house." (11) And finally, he said to the same effect that "Without restoration of every nation's independence and unity neither the international unification of the proletariat nor the peaceful, creative collaboration of these nations to achieve common ends would be possible." (12)

In this way the Marxist idea of the nation and the national ideal takes form. Its introduction can have a very fruitful effect upon national culture because it permits real self-knowledge (as opposed to mythical) of the history and distinctive nature of every national community and its characteristic features, wherein the main determinations of its present and future are articulated. As contrasted with the bourgeois national consciousness, it does not oppose the nation as an ethnic entity to the revolutionary interests of the producers but achieves a blend of them, since the progress and development of the nation are in conformity with general social progress. In this way a spontaneous aspect of the national culture begins to take on the force of its awareness and that of its receptiveness to the generating processes of history and its conflicts and upheavals.

The Marxist consciousness of the nation brings out the historicity and dynamism of the national values and shuns any tendency toward single exclusivism or isolation, being open to communication with the values of other nations and national groups.

A culture with accurate knowledge of its roots, its evolution in all its twists and turns, and its points in common with universal culture is one of great creativeness that combines the aspiration to remain itself with receptiveness to new perspectives and original forms of manifestation. In a period dominated by the search for new cultural syntheses, like that of the close of our century, nothing is more valuable to a culture than enrichment of its creative ferments, among which Marxist national consciousness has an important place by virtue of its qualities. As a historical self-awareness that unites scientific knowledge of the past and present with clear projection into the future, it is not confined to the existing values but demands and spurs the creation of a new multitude of values in all areas of society, characteristic of the present phase of history.

The diversity of social processes taking place in our century bears out the terms in which the Marxist consciousness of the nation is defined. The 20th century is proving to be one of advancement of the nations and national groups in close connection with the emergence of the revolutionary process of social liberation of the producers and subordinate classes. Observance of the Marxist ideal of the nation has facilitated the construction and development of the new order and the outlining of the premises of new international relations, just as the errors made in its application, regardless of the circumstances in which they occurred, have left traces that are slow to heal in the consciousness of some nations and national groups and upon the accumulations of the new world relations and the influence of Marxism.

The Marxist idea that construction of the new order will eradicate the sources of distrust and national contradictions is fully substantiated as an objective necessity and possibility, but like all other articulations of the new social relations, it is not to be accomplished automatically but requires strict application of the idea of national equality, observance of national independence, and elimination of force as a means of resolving the differences and contradictions that may arise on this level.

That is why the Marxist consciousness of the nation is of particular cultural and political urgency.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 4, Political Publishing House [PPH], 1958, p 470.
2. Ibid., Vol 3, PPH, 1958, p 46.
3. K. Marx, "Bases of the Critique of Political Economy," Vol 1, PPH, 1972, p 432.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 2, ESPLP [State Publishing House for Political Literature], 1958, p 145.
5. Ibid., Vol 3, PPH, p 56.
6. K. Marx, "Letters to Kugelmann," RCP Publishing House, 1947, p 106.
7. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 4, PPH, p 485.
8. Ibid., Vol 17, PPH, 1963, p 357.
9. Ibid., Vol 4, PPH, p 476
10. Ibid., Vol 18, PPH, 1964, p 80.
11. Ibid., Vol 22, PPH, 1965, p 276.
12. Ibid., p 360.

BRIEFS

DEATH OF ACADEMICIAN--The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Health and the Academy of Medical Sciences announce the death, on 4 May 1980, of Academician Professor Vasile Rascanu. As professor and rector of the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Iasi, Vasile Rascanu made a great contribution to the training and advancement of numerous medical cadres. In 1955, he was elected titular member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and in 1972 he was elected honorary member of the Academy of Medical Sciences. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTELA in Romanian 6 May 80 p 6]

DEATH OF WRITER--The Writers Union announces the sudden death, on 7 May 1980, of Comrade Barbu Gruia, who was director of the Writers Union and of the Literary Fund for more than 25 years, from 1951 until his retirement. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 May 80 p 4]

NEW EDITORS--The new chief editor of the newspaper SCINTEIA TINERETULUI is Emil Marinache, a young man, a journalist with much experience amassed during the years he worked on SCINTEIA and SCINTEIA TINERETULUI. Comrade Gheorghe Prodes is the new chief editor of the editorial staff for broadcasts to foreign countries for Radiotelevision. We wrote in our last issue about promotions to other newspapers from the youth press. Here are some other confirmations: Radu Vlaicu, from STINTA SI TEHNICA, is working for SCINTEIA as a column editor and Adrian Vasilescu, from SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, is working as an editor on the same newspaper. [Excerpts] [Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian No 4, Apr 80 pp 36-37] We have received some news from Bacau. The new chief editor of the newspaper STEAGUL ROSU is Petru Filioresanu. Constantin Calin, the deputy chief editor of this publication [STEAGUL ROSU] directs the activity of the review ATENEU. The new deputy chief editor of the Timis newspaper DRAPUL ROSU is Gheorghe Tomoroga. [Excerpts] [Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian No 3, Mar 80 p 32]

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PROCEDURE DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by Radovan Sturanovic]

[Text] In a few months the draft of a bill on amendment of the SFRY Constitution will most probably be put up for public discussion, and in that way all the specific arrangements for amending the SFRY Constitution will be made relevant and the conditions will be created and the need emphasized for a critical reassessment of the arrangements which have been proposed. In this article we will therefore point out the first phase in the procedure for amending the SFRY Constitution as well as certain other questions pertaining to the procedure for amendment of the constitution and the form of the bill for amendment of the constitution.

In the first phase of procedure for amending the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY State Presidency, as the authorized proponent, on 17 October 1979, as everyone knows, submitted to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly a proposal for amendment of the SFRY Constitution. That proposal stated that the changes in the SFRY Constitution should concern matters having to do with the organization and makeup of government bodies and also to the term of office of the president or chairman. In that context the SFRY State Presidency simultaneously recommended to the SFRY Assembly that it adopt the proposal to amend the SFRY Constitution on these matters and that to that end it examine and judge which provisions of the SFRY Constitution could be a hindrance to fuller and more consistent implementation of the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility and the term of office of the president or chairman, and which therefore should be amended.

In adopting the proposal to amend the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY State Presidency was acting on the basis of the unanimously accepted initiative of President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito.

Amendments in the Republics and Provinces

In a session on 30 November 1980 the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly examined and adopted the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency to amend the

SFRY Constitution and sent that proposal to the assemblies of all the republics and autonomous provinces for their consent. By early December 1979 those assemblies had consented to the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency that the SFRY Constitution be amended.

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, having obtained consent of the assemblies of all the republics and autonomous provinces to the proposal of the SFRY Assembly that the SFRY Constitution be amended, decided in a session on 12 December 1979 to undertake amendment of the SFRY Constitution along the lines of the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency and ordered the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Constitutional Affairs to prepare the draft of a bill to amend the SFRY Constitution.

Along with preparations on changes of the SFRY Constitution, work also began to prepare changes in the constitutions of the republics and the constitutions of the autonomous provinces, and the assemblies of all the republics and autonomous provinces adopted proposals to undertake constitutional amendments which have been submitted by the designated authorized proponents (in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina this is the state presidency of the republic or autonomous province, in Montenegro it is the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Montenegrin Assembly, and in Slovenia the chambers of the Slovenian Assembly decided to undertake to amend the Slovenian Constitution on the basis of a report and initiative of the Commission for Constitutional Affairs).

In the proposals adopted to undertake to amend the constitutions of the republics and the constitutions of the autonomous provinces, the matters to which the amendments pertain are identical with the matters indicated in the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency to undertake amendment of the SFRY Constitution.

Only in the proposal for amendment of the Serbian Constitution is the group of matters expanded to include matters pertaining to the following: the jurisdiction of the chambers of the Serbian Assembly, urban communities of opštinas, the right to propose laws and other enactments, and adoption of decrees with legal force.

Initiatives

In the SFRY Assembly the authorized proponents for amending the SFRY Constitution, aside from the SFRY Assembly, are explicitly stated as follows: a group of at least 30 delegates in the Federal Chamber, the assembly of a republic or autonomous province, and the Federal Executive Council.

In the constitutions of all the republics and autonomous provinces the authorized proponents are as follows: either chamber of the assembly of the republic or autonomous province and the executive council of the assembly of the republic or autonomous province. The constitutions of all the republics and autonomous provinces provide that a group of 30 or more

delegates in the assembly of the republic or autonomous province (the Montenegrin Constitution states a group of 20 or more delegates) is also an authorized proponent. The constitutions of all the republics and autonomous provinces except that of Montenegro also provide that the state presidency of the republic or the state presidency of the autonomous province is an authorized proponent. And finally, the Serbian Constitution also entitles the assembly of the autonomous province to be an authorized proponent when amendment of the Serbian Constitution pertains to matters of interest to the republic as a whole.

The SFRY Constitution states that the SFRY Constitution is to be amended by the Federal Chamber with consent of the assemblies of all the republics and autonomous provinces, but if the amendment regulates only the status of a republic or mutual relations between the Federation and the republic--it shall be amended by the Federal Chamber with the consent of the assemblies of all the republics. However, if the assembly of one or more republics or the assembly of one autonomous province does not concur in the text of the act to amend the SFRY Constitution which has been adopted by the Federal Chamber, the proposal to amend the SFRY Constitution on which consent was not obtained cannot be placed on the agenda within 1 year from the date when the Federal Chamber ascertained that consensus did not exist.

The constitutions of all the republics and autonomous provinces state that constitutional amendments shall be adopted by the assembly of the republic or autonomous province either in a joint session of all chambers or by all chambers exercising equal jurisdiction. The Serbian Constitution provides that a constitutional amendment pertaining to matters of interest to the republic as a whole shall be decided by the Serbian Assembly with the consent of the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Quorum for Amendments

The SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and the constitutions of the autonomous provinces contain provisions concerning a quorum for decisions on constitutional changes which have been proposed. Under the SFRY Constitution a decision of this kind requires a two-thirds majority of the members of the Federal Chamber, and under the constitutions of the republics and provinces a two-thirds majority of all members of the assembly is required in Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina, and a two-thirds majority of the members of all the chambers in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia, and the consent of all three chambers in Croatia.

The constitutions of all the republics and autonomous provinces also contain provisions as to what happens when the assembly of a republic or the assembly of an autonomous province fails to adopt proposed constitutional amendments.

In that context the constitutions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina contain an identical provision to the effect that if a constitutional amendment is not adopted, a decision may not be made to amend the constitution within 1 year from the date when the proposal was rejected.

However, the constitutions of Croatia and Slovenia, especially in view of the fact that amendments are adopted by all three chambers exercising equal jurisdiction, contain a somewhat more elaborate procedure for the case when a consensus of all the chambers is not obtained concerning the proposed amendments.

Under the Croatian Constitution, if the chambers do not reach consensus on amendment of the constitution, they establish a joint commission to formulate a proposal for resolving the dispute. After the report is submitted by the joint commission, the chambers renew debate of the proposal for amendment of the constitution, and if even after two debates a consensus among the chambers is not reached, the proposal to amend the constitution is put up for referendum.

Under the Slovenian Constitution, if consensus is not obtained in a decision on amendment of the constitution, the chambers of the assembly designate a joint commission to prepare a proposal for resolving the matter in dispute. However, if the joint commission does not arrive at a proposal, or if a chamber does not accept its proposal, the proposal to amend the constitution is taken up in a joint session of the chambers, and if even in that session views are not reconciled, the proposal for amendment of the constitution is removed from the agenda of sessions of the chambers. Such a proposal may be returned to the agenda of the chambers of the assembly at the end of 6 months upon the proposal of one chamber and before that time on the basis of a decision by all chambers.

Amendments or Law

Both the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of all the republics and autonomous provinces envisage the same phases in procedure to amend constitutions, specifically: the proposal to amend the constitution; the draft of the constitutional amendment, including public discussion of the draft of that proposed amendment; the final version of the constitutional amendment, and the proposal to proclaim the constitutional amendment adopted.

The SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are not definite as to the form of the constitutional amendment, while the constitutions of all the other republics and autonomous provinces (Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina) contain a provision under which constitutional amendments may take the form of a constitutional amendment or a constitutional law.

Recent amendments of the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1976) and the Constitution of Montenegro (1978) were made in the form of constitutional amendments.

All changes in the 1963 SFRY Constitution, which were made in 1967, 1968 and 1971, were made in the form of constitutional amendments. Only the changes in the 1946 FNRJ [Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia] Constitution were made otherwise: by the Constitutional Law on the Bases of the Social and Political System and on Federal Bodies and Agencies of the FNRJ (adopted 13 January 1953). However, though formally the constitutional law was not a new constitution, in actuality that is what it was.

On the basis of past experience and the number of upcoming constitutional changes in both the SFRY Constitution and also the constitutions of the republics and the constitutions of the autonomous provinces, there is reason to expect that these changes will take the form of constitutional amendments. But it will be up to subsequent evaluation by specialists and political decisions when the decision is made on the form which the constitutional changes will take.

7045

CSO: 2800

JOVAN DJORDJEVIC, DRAFTER OF CONSTITUTIONS, INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1525, 30 Mar 80
pp 9-11, 13

[Interview with Jovan Djordjevic, member of the academy, professor of constitutional law and author of successive Yugoslav constitutions, by Boro Krivokapic: "Life With the State" ; date and place not given]

[Text] The glow of a cigarette. One of the "Havana" series. Recollection of a gift of Che Guevara, after the first visit to Khrushchev. Memories, memories. The voice is quiet and slow. Determined, but without pronounced gestures. Dressing gown. Behind him walls of books. Slumped far down, heavy and secure. Who does he remind me of? The owner of a steel mill.

As a child that was how I imagined nonexistent relatives in America.

Went to school in Paris. The Sorbonne. Doctor's degree. Member of the French Communist Party. Law school in Belgrade. A docent even before the war. Semesters and semesters. Scholarly papers, books and studies. Series and sequences. The SFRY Constitution. Another sequence.

The Belgrade seen by its liberators.

"One day Blagoje Neskovic came to me, we had been friends before the war, we had worked together during the occupation.

"Listen, Comrade Kardelj...."

"That was the first time I had heard of Kardelj.

"Comrade Kardelj wants to see you. He wants to talk to you."

"I went to the parliament building, that was the headquarters of the Presidium of the National Committee. Kardelj said:

"Listen, Comrade Jovo, how would you like to be my assistant? We're about to draft our first constitution, I will be the minister responsible for drafting the constitution, and you will be my assistant.' I accepted."

Since that time: laws and constitutions.

The first constitution (1945/46).

"We made that first draft, we wrote it here in this room. We went off to see Kardelj, he had just had a spinal operation. Kardelj, Mosa Pijade, Leo Gerskovic and I. Mosa Pijade made a significant contribution.

"... There were also extreme situations. The most drastic example came from Split. A group of citizens sent in a proposal for autonomy of Dalmatia. They were seeking the status of a federal unit."

He personally wrote the first draft of the law on self-management.

"I wrote it in one night. It was very short, two or three pages. The law was adopted in June 1950, and Kardelj called for me in late April or early May. We had often talked about our having to go in the direction of self-management.

"When he called me in to see him, after a meeting with Tito, he said:

"'Write up a law on self-management.'

"He also gave me several basic ideas at that time.

"Later, when I had written the text, we went to see Tito. It was noontime. Kardelj had already been to see Tito. Janez Stanovnik, his secretary at that time, said:

"'Comrade Kardelj is with Tito, he called and said that you should go to Uzicka Street as well.'

"Tito did not read the text immediately. I just glanced at it.

"The situation at that time was difficult. Our actions had no meaning, there was a lack of ideas, a nightmare. And even what we thought was behind us had begun to rear up its head again.

"I made one observation:

"'You know, I am a bit concerned about how economically and culturally mature our working class has managed to become at this point?'

"Tito said:

"'This is politically important to us.'"

The 1963 Constitution

Question: Where is our thinking in social theory; what is your diagnosis, if I might put it that way?

Answer: That thinking has attained a level of development, but today it is at a standstill. New pathways and also new signposts are being sought. We have not yet found new wings, any new stimuli; the signs of future development and movement are still not making themselves evident.

Question: And the reasons for the stagnation and ebb?

Answer: First, there is no thinking that moves always in one direction and in a straight line. And then, it depends on other things, it is inseparable from historical, social and economic conditions. We now find ourselves in the context of a stabilization which to some extent is having an inhibitive effect and never has it been stimulative for new things.

Question: Do you recall conditions of a different kind?

Answer: Our social thought reached its peak in the period between 1950 and the sixties. To put it in the language of the law: from adoption of the law turning enterprises over to the management of work collectives to adoption of the 1963 Constitution.

Question: What happened after that?

Answer: The 1963 Constitution opened up many problems and crises. It called into question once and for all the state, centralism and the old concept of socialism. The bureaucratic forces. This evoked resistance both in the party and in society, as well as among intellectuals. Both with adherents of the old conceptions of the conventional quasiosocialist state, which actually is based on coercion--and also with a certain group who wanted to speed up the possibilities opened up by the constitution: in the direction of a freer socialist society. This is that current which might be called (though not altogether appropriately) extreme leftist. The so-called New Left.

So the new course found itself between two opponents, between two walls: rightwing conservatism and leftwing adventurism (in our context).

Question: And the bureaucratic groups are often referred to as "leftist"?

Answer: This wordplay with "left" and "right" often depends on who is describing the lineup of forces. Historically speaking, from the standpoint of the historical goals of socialism, the bureaucracy is conservative and rightwing.

Question: What place do the 1968 student demonstrations take in that play of right against left?

Answer: In my opinion they issued a noble demand for change, for an end to a certain degradation of human feelings and the elements of corruption, inequality, arbitrariness and futility that had become evident in certain domains of society. But they were also contradictory. Devoid, as indeed everywhere else in the world, of any very clear political and ideological orientation, they were reacting to society more negatively than constructively. And because of the theoretical and ideological underdevelopment of our community, they borrowed both old slogans and old principles from the arsenal of statism.

Question: You are thinking of the certain egalitarian quality of some of the student demands?

Answer: Yes. No foundation was found for resolving the problems that were emphasized except in a return to some empirical democracy. In the final analysis they looked to the state as a bulwark.

Social Equality

Question: Egalitarianism is not a "natural ingredient" of socialism?

Answer: Social equality is a basic element of socialism. Before Marx, in his lifetime, and after him. But egalitarianism and socialism are not the same thing, nor can they be.

Egalitarianism is an endeavor to have men regarded at all costs as completely identical beings. An unhistorical conception. It is my belief--and I think this is the Marxist thinking--that the essence of socialism is that people be equal in their diversity.

Question: How equal are we as unequals?

Answer: Our society has quite a bit of information toward egalitarianism in the unhistorical sense. Equality tends to be conceived in egalitarian terms as leveling and uniformity. In economic relations we refer to this as leveling. It can be seen in practice, in people's behavior and in their mentality.

Question: The dogmatic legacy?

Answer: And the dogmatic legacy. But this at the same time is a half-baked interpretation of the Marxist concept of equality and of the basic situations in our society.

Question: A watering down of revolutionary thought; a lot of momentum, fervor and enthusiasm; a lack of illusion...?

Answer: Of course. This is the general line of ups and downs throughout all human history. Thought is always more critical when it is on the attack, when it is tearing down. But it is looser when it is affirmative. Then it frequently is also apologetic and conservative.

Question: Marxist theory underestimated the element of political power as a separate mental element?

Answer: Yes and no. The struggle for power is an expression of human insecurity and of the underdevelopment of a society in which the question of man's orientation and position has not been resolved. Political power figures as an expression of that unresolved situation and has divided society into those holding the power and those who are grasping for it or who recognize it.

In the first revolutionary periods political power was absolutized. Then power entered into the heart of Marxist theory and the practice of the socialist state. Stalin accepted Bukharin's and Trotsky's ideas about the dominant importance of the economic factor in social changes and couples them into a single concept of a strong and dominant socialist state which would control not only policy and the political power, but also economic and human relations. This is the essence of Stalinism.

Question: The illusion that the instruments of power of the regime which has been toppled can be taken over and a new society be created in that manner?

Answer: Without a doubt. There is no wall which separates one era from another. And this conception that socialism is achieved by means of political power both in the state and through the state had the impact that the state, a creation of the bourgeoisie, was also taken over in socialism. In my opinion this is the greatest weakness which socialism has. Stalinism particularly: the strengthening of the bourgeois state in the socialist context. Not, then, the state which Engels wanted to put into effect after Marx and to call it the commune; which was also Lenin's goal.

A Poverty of Ideas

Question: The slumps in the social sciences probably also result from the fact that they are discovering the essence of bureaucracy, of its position in the state and of the state itself?

Answer: Absolutization of a political principle always results in a limitation of creativity, especially in the political and social sciences. This inevitably leads to positivism and normativism, and then to an apologetic stance. Neither in science nor in society is it possible to live with just one idea.

Question: Absolutization, positivism, normativism, and apologetics--these are all a kind of shorthand to simplify very complicated social problems and phenomena?

Answer: Certainly that is nothing new to us. As an expression of a poverty of ideas, a cramped struggle of differing opinions, new directions and new aspects. The old bourgeois state, which became an ideological state, and insistence on the exaggerated importance of government power had the result that socialism neglected cultural processes, cultural struggles, the importance of the search for new ideas, of the contest of opinions and of developing certain basic points of departure. This was a great pity for Marxism, which basically is an open system of thought oriented toward affirmation of development and not verbal support.

In addition, the countries which started out on the socialist road on the basis of Marxist inspiration were not ideologically and scientifically prepared for that colossal changeover. The theoretical level in almost all the socialist countries before the revolution and indeed afterward was mostly low. That is why it was easiest to take up an impoverished and oversimplified idea.

Question: Kardelj was probably the first, at the Third Plenum (1966) to formulate the dilemma concerning the character of political power, which was first taken up by the 1963 Constitution. Actually it is a question of the relation between self-management and an authoritarian arbiter?

Answer: While we were still preparing the 1953 Constitutional Law Mosa Pijade remarked:

"We are pushing political power downward, but we are not letting it go!"

I am also aware of Kardelj's thinking. Even later there was never any radical letting go of political power. Kardelj was a realistic politician and statesman. He was always afraid of an anarchic totality in social relations. He had had experience with the multinational, multireligious and multicultural relations in our community. He understood that the withering away of the state could not be conceived as an absolute, as a termination of the state. He knew that self-managed institutions could take over their role only through regulation, guidance and planning.

However, Kardelj always stressed the presence of a segment of authoritarianism in socialist society. He attributed great importance to preventing institutionalization of that segment. It is a dangerous conception for the old state to maintain its position while the working class is given some little plot to self-manage under a watchful eye.

The Brioni Plenum

Question: That conception, dating from that time, was penalized in political terms by the Brioni Plenum?

Answer: The polarizations first became evident in discussions at the top political levels. One democratic orientation was expressed, that of Tito, Kardelj, Bakaric and a majority of the others, and the other direction was conservative and bureaucratic. Perhaps that was the balance of power, but at one point there was a lapse in the work on the constitution (1963).

Then it seems the situation changed: in favor of self-management and the democratic orientation of socialism. We completed the constitution without difficulties, though there were certain minor deviations and compromises. The dispute had not yet been resolved.

I remember we had a little reception when the constitution was ready. Kardelj said to me:

"It is a good thing that we have finished it now. Had we delayed a certain time longer, perhaps we would not have succeeded."

Question: What do the deviations consist of?

Answer: Details. It was a question of the relation between the state and self-management. Between authoritarianism and freedom.

Question: Can self-management in and of itself abolish the contradictions in society, that is, resolve them by some--perhaps magical--automatic effect?

Answer: So long as social ownership, as Kardelj says, remains a contradictory relation, there will always be contradictory elements in self-management as well. The thesis of the uncontradictoriness of self-management hides a theoretical error for ignorance. The belief that a principle, however perfect it might be, in and of itself automatically resolves the basic social and political problems of human society, and indeed of socialism, is naive and represents an error which can be more dangerous than socially contradictory situations.

Question: Can it be that it is again the state that is hidden beneath that cloak?

Answer: Indirectly strength could be given to the interests of those who would now like to see the state "straighten out the situation" and "establish order"--which corresponds to the cultural and political level of certain quarters.

Question: There have been great debates in that framework concerning the right to strike.... The seemingly logical objection was expressed: Why should the self-manager strike against himself?

Answer: Yes, the trade union immediately developed that idea. If we are a permissive society....

Question: Would you explain that term?

Answer: In a permissive society everything is free except what is explicitly prohibited by the constitution. The opposite is a prohibitive society--in which only that which has been approved is allowed. So, I feel that the right to strike has not been prohibited. Moreover, this is also confirmed by practice. To be sure, we do not have strikes, but "work stoppages." In my opinion that is a worse solution than a strike. The strike is a legal relationship, but the "work stoppage" is an empirical phenomenon.

Question: Certain social phenomena are "theoretically" named on the principle: it is not six, but half a dozen?

Answer: Mature new phenomena, phenomena which alter the old system which has been superseded, also call for new terminology. Borrowing is a dangerous thing, but euphemisms are still more dangerous. A euphemism is insincere and untrue and causes confusion in thought, in practice and in orientation.

"Reasons of State"

Question: Is it not true that the 1974 Constitution actually euphemistically strengthened certain attributes of the state and statehood?

Answer: It did strengthen the republic, which is also a state. As the pillar of a new statehood. It strengthened the executive power and administration. By contrast with the 1963 Constitution, in which the courts were a part of society and not of the state, the 1974 Constitution included the courts in the organization of the state. "Reasons of state" were also manifested in the bolstering of the apparatus of the state.

Question: Associated labor has still not got up on its feet?

Answer: No. The battle has been won only from the standpoint of the attitude toward the opponents. But the very idea of association, the great idea of socialism which Marx accepted, has not made sufficient inroads aside from the institutional framework.

Question: The battle has not been won for internal content?

Answer: The battle for associated labor, for the system of associated labor, has not been won. All of this is still at the level of the enterprise.

Question: You have spent your entire life with the state, around the state, alongside the state, or against the state: and its moves are also interesting...?

Answer: That is true. A move of the state signifies that someone is able to enter its dwelling. All the organisms which can replace it have not yet been created. That will continue to be the case until some new forces come on the scene.

Question: How is the terror of normativeness and the tumor of bureaucracy to be combated?

Answer: I have taken up an idea of Saint-Just: The more opinions there are, the more freedom there is. But in this strengthening of normativeness there is also one factor which is concrete and which does not contribute to self-management. We are still burdened, the people of our time, by something which I call the statist political culture. It even gets into the minds of those who are not statist. This is an expression of the excessively long presence of the state and of its regulatory powers. And of distrust of those who are not part of that complex: the working class, man, and self-management.

I have been concerned with this on several occasions, and I have attempted to influence reform of the administration. But it is very lively and slippery and reacts to all such attempts. It is both presumptuous and also tends to be imposed by others. This entire method of organization, that entire system of ours, in actuality the system of a bureaucratic conception, is based on a division into those who work and those who supervise.

Question: It is more lucrative to supervise?

Answer: The economy does not belong sufficiently to the producers. That is why we have these inactive and parasitic staff services which are financed from the budget and are so attractive. This is in general a characteristic of the more backward societies. It is also one of the basic shortcomings of our self-management system: it is not productive enough, it is not industrious enough.

Question: Is it sufficiently stimulative?

Answer: My opinion is that the distribution of income, that this motivation based on income—based on interest, that is, a materialist incentive—is not enough to change man's parasitic nature, the reluctance to work. We have to find some other incentives and some other relations. But I am not able to say what.

Question: Why not...?

Answer: To tell you the truth, I am not certain.... I only know that this is no good. I still have not examined all this thoroughly. I have done some writing, I have made an attempt to provide a theory of our self-management on the basis of the ideas and experiences so far, but I was not successful in it. All I managed to do was to criticize this system, which is essentially a bourgeois system: Pay him well, and he will be good.

The very foundation of production, technology, is too out of date. It is too much based on the machine which compels man to work. Man needs a machine to compel him to work, but the machine does not need him. More satisfaction, cultural needs and cultural incentives--I think that is the way out for socialism. We have not developed socialism as a cultural movement, as a moral movement.

An Intolerant Society

Question: Are these reasons why you are writing your book about human rights and freedoms?

Answer: I wanted to complete my conception of the political system of socialism. For me the free man is the basic value of society and history. Aside from the formal freedoms which exist, I attempted to derive some freedom of man from socialism: the right to the truth; the right to dialog; the right to tolerance..., for example.

Question: How far have we gotten with those rights?

Answer: At best there is still a gap between what has been proclaimed and what is real. To a great extent we are an intolerant society. All societies which are fighting for power and for money, for material position, are intolerant.

He sees the other as an opponent and adversary, an evil which should be repelled in order to take its place.

Question: Without tolerance there is no humanism, and without humanism there is no social function of society?

Answer: True, there is no human society. There is only the jungle.

Question: The march of the intolerant is led, usually ridiculously, by nationalists.... You are a member of the academy (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) which has been criticized for even this most unworthy of all unworthy marches?

Answer: It came about as the product of the nationalism of one period in Serbian culture. This does not mean that the academy as a whole has not

accepted and followed social and revolutionary changes. After the war there were also some quasioppositionists who made some inroads. They qualified to enter the academy, but they revealed themselves through nationalism.

Question: Nationalism taken for creativity?

Answer: It would be inaccurate, or at least unfair, to say that nationalism was a steppingstone for their entry into the academy. By and large these are capable people, learned and intelligent. But there are also others, equally able, who do not belong to the academy group. Adherents to nationalism probably helped them a bit.

Question: You used the expression: quasiopposition?

Answer: There are different elements here. There are "hot" and "cold" nationalists. Some do not quarrel with the state, but others, pursuing their own interests, strive to quarrel and look for quarrels.

Question: A kind of wireless telegraphy between "position" and "opposition"? Woe betide the man who finds himself in between?

Answer: Right. In general, it is very difficult in contemporary society to be independent and true to oneself. Even very strong personalities manage this with difficulty.

One sort of people always establishes that link between "position" and "opposition." And even "position" has always managed to utilize and reward those leanings of the "opposition."

The Independent Man

Question: Contrary to the fundamental spirit of the system, the independent man frequently encounters "hysterical resistance"?

Answer: Independence is a sacrifice which man makes for his talent, his ideas and his inclinations toward exploration. Contemporary society is a field on which various divisions take place and various influences are exerted. Everyone must have some place that is his so that society can keep an eye on him. In contemporary society communications are not established between people, but between agents representing different interests, positions and groups.

Society is still not strong enough to be able to expose itself and to undergo a real internal humanization. It must therefore possess some kind of mechanism for defense and oversight. A man who rejects that, if he is not "dangerous," then he is unsure and antisocial, he cannot enter into communication as a principal.

Question: But he can become the object of excommunication?

Answer: Nothing can be achieved by excommunication. Neither in a field of scientific thought, nor in the life of society generally. It is only possible to temporarily diminish the front of action and reaction. But in actuality excommunication always causes resistance and often brings about the unexpected and unnecessary resurgence of old conceptions and ideas.

I am against fighting ideas with cannons. Human thought, in spite of everything, is stronger than any force. It strives to make inroads--and it does. Excommunication has not been worthwhile either in the time of the Inquisition, or during tsarism, or in the age of absolutism, or at the end of the Middle Ages, or later, in the time of the bourgeois dictatorship and the police state. Still less can it exert any useful influence on development of a free creative thought. And such thought is indispensable to socialism.

Civil Servants in the State

Question: It seems that unscientific, pragmatic and political factors are inevitable in social theory?

Answer: There is quite a bit of that. The pressure of the ideological and empirical factor in society, in our public, is too strong for scientific thought to be able to avoid it. Especially when scientists are being reproduced from the same stock as the civil servants. In large part our scientists are government officials.

Question: Some manage to set themselves up even as scientific authorities?

Answer: Such attempts are surely made. What is worse, there is also acceptance of such people and encouragement of young people to go in that direction. Such people do damage to science, and they also do damage to politics. In the end they do damage even to themselves.

Question: And you personally: Have you been faithful to the trajectory of your ideas?

Answer: It would be insincere and conceited for a man to say that he has been faithful only to his own ideas. There are questions of conditionality and there are also questions of responsibility. I have striven to remain faithful to my own thought and not to depart from certain values. Although I perhaps have not always expanded the domain of my own thought as I might have wished on the basis of certain of my inclinations and knowledge.

7045

CSO: 2800

SOCIAL ILLS CASTIGATED BY FORTNIGHTLY JOURNAL

Bogus Sick Leave

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 80 p 34

[Article by Zvonko Logar: "The Farm Fields Are Full of 'Sick' People"]

[Text] The doctors have always been criticized for being open-handed in granting sick leave, but in recent months the hue and cry against them has intensified. Confused because of high absenteeism and the disturbing increase in the number of days lost, we seem to have gotten the causes and consequences a bit confused.

It will always be possible to criticize some physician here and there that he has not prescribed the right therapy, or even that in defining the illness he has wittingly allowed his patient to get away with something. More serious abuses are, of course, also possible. Nevertheless, can all the blame be put on the physicians and the health service when as many as 30 percent of the workers sometimes do not report in the morning on the scaffolds of construction projects? Masons, workers who mix cement and even team leaders are missing work. And these are not isolated occurrences.

The Finding of the Commission From Ruma

In this connection there has recently been quite a bit of public mention of the finding of a commission from Ruma, which made a visit to workers on sick leave and found nearly 40 percent of them doing field work and construction work. It is certain that sick leave was erroneously granted to many of these cases. But isn't it strange that so many people should at the same time be more interested in other jobs than in going to their own permanent employment? That is really the question! And instead of shouting at the physicians and inventing commissions which will oversee them, it would be more worthwhile to face certain truths.

Why does it pay to be absent from one's job in order to earn money on other jobs? It stands to reason that something is amiss with remuneration. But that doesn't say it all. There are collectives in which incentives are

included in the system of remuneration, and yet absenteeism is high. How is this to be explained?

The computation is very simple. A good craftsman can in just a few days earn 3, 4 or more million old dinars doing the masonry on construction of someone's private house. Lucrative opportunities like this also turn up frequently for people in other occupations and professions. Still more important, the money earned in this manner is usually pure gain, they pay neither taxes nor contributions. And how long would it take a man to earn 2, 3 or 5 million by regular work in his workplace?

When they figure up what they are losing and what they are gaining, workers who live on farms also decide very often to skip work. The work they do on the farm supplements their annual income. And perhaps in such cases it would even be better to legalize the right of those who have, say, a piece of land so that once or twice a year they can request unpaid leave. At least one would then know when they weren't coming to work, and a substitute could be found for them in advance in the workplace.

Are the Higher Earnings "Utopia"?

At the same time it is known from many years of experience that absenteeism is not so high where the personal incomes are more or less decent. If a cure has to be found for this illness, which has serious economic consequences, then this is the place to look for it. If he is comparatively well paid and if he can earn more by working more, a man will not look outside and attempt to supplement his income somewhere else. Nor will the doctor's conscience be tested so frequently. They will be dealing with the sick, and those who are well will not be going to see them.

But it must be admitted that there are few workplaces which have a good system of distribution so that they can give good remuneration for work and compete with their earnings with "moonlighting," which has been so proscribed. Even contrary to the wishes and expectations of all of us, tendencies toward leveling have recently become ever more pronounced in a major portion of the economy. This can be explained first of all by the high rate of inflation, which is devaluing everything, earnings included. And when a considerable portion of personal incomes is already on the verge of the minimum, is there anything more natural than first to rectify the situation of those who earn least? The spread in personal income is thereby reduced, and those who deserve the most credit for the collective's business success lose most thereby.

Someone may answer us--probably with some justification--that it is utopistic to expect personal incomes which can be measured against those of Western Europe and that for a time there is nothing left for us but to condemn those who don't work and combat unnecessary sick leave and absenteeism. However, this will remain Utopia forever unless more economic sense is finally injected into the conduct of economic activity. The

socialized sector of the economy will never be able to utilize all its advantages if it goes on hiring people exclusively to provide them with some way of getting along. This raises overhead and increases the number of unproductive job slots, and it seriously diminishes the chances of the socialized sector of the economy. Sometimes it is for just this reason that the public sector is losing the contest with private craftsmen and self-employment. And to make all this still more paradoxical, we need a larger private sector than we have. But thanks to its greater flexibility, it often has an impact on the atmosphere in our economy. Or are we mistaken? But if our private sector is not having such an impact, over the last decade the opportunities offered our people to obtain relatively good earnings by going abroad have certainly had a great impact.

Without Risk

In any case, overinsistence on social welfare considerations in production have put us in a truly unusual situation. Even those who are slackers and proven to be so usually do not lose their jobs. Once he gets a job and possibly obtains an apartment, a man in our community acquires considerably more social security than anywhere in the world. He does not need to earn a great deal, but as a rule there is no longer any chance of his finding himself on the street. Social security is undoubtedly an important achievement of Yugoslav society, but in some situations it can also have its bad side. After all, if a job once obtained cannot be lost, many efficiencies are possible in production even though the earnings are decent. The time must come, then, when the only correct and sound principle will have to be adopted that the man who is employed should fight constantly for his job. Until this type of risk is introduced, absenteeism will not be eliminated from our collectives.

'Business Lunches'

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 80 p 13

[Article by D. S.]

[Text] A different title might have been found, for example, how my dog, whose name is Niki, stuffed himself on beefsteak and veal tenderloin at government expense. Or: are we so hungry as to eat even with our eyes? Or: when will there be an end to these big feasts as at peasant weddings and celebrations?

There might, then, be as many titles as you like, but I decided on this allergic title--Business Lunch. (A friend has told me: I get excited, I get red in the face, my skin breaks out when I read a title like that in the newspaper.) Hasn't there been enough written about business lunches at that miserable "government expense"? Hasn't there been enough squandering? Haven't we once and for all reduced business and nonbusiness feasts to some reasonable limits? How many times have we cried out in public: Look, you

Luculluses, that's enough!! Aren't those much richer than us also much more modest? Haven't we already gone beyond that folk saying: When the aga has lard, he spreads it even on his behind? Is it really impossible for us to become reasonable and to realize that economy is the basis of any society and any family which is in good order economically and also a question of every individual's standard of living?

But I am not writing this little piece in order to describe one such feast after which the dogs in our street ate veal bones with scraps of meat, I am not writing so as to cause my readers to break out in allergic eczema once again. No. During that lunch in a Belgrade restaurant where I go every day something happened which was a bit out of the ordinary for the standards of our civil behavior. That is, when huge quantities of select food began to arrive at one table (a party of six men on expense account), a diner at a neighboring table said out loud: Aren't you ashamed?

Nothing more, but that was enough.

Someone reported this remark to the manager of the restaurant, who came and warned his "unpleasant customer," who dismissed the incident with a wave of his hand, and the comfortable and undisturbed order of the coffeehouse resumed. However, when that young "unpleasant" customer said "Aren't you ashamed?" we all felt some revulsion, a feeling somewhat like an inner protest. Not because we were all eating modest portions and had before that pored over the menu for a long time, but because at that one moment in the coffeehouse we realized that this kind of squandering of public money is something that goes against us and against our interests.

Even as a high school student in Belgrade before the war I heard many anecdotes about a very rich man Djordje Vajfert, one of the richest in Belgrade. He was said to be a real skinflint. Once a self-confident young man came to him for a loan to finance some transaction that seemed lucrative. Vajfert judged that the transaction was indeed promising and had already made his decision to grant the future businessman a sizable loan. At that point he felt like having a smoke, and the young man graciously jumped up, pulled out matches and lit cigarettes for them both. After the first puff Vajfert said: Young man, I can't give you the loan. You lit two cigarettes with two matches, when you could have lit them with one. You'll never be a good steward.

Nor will the men who left the table full of meat ever be good "stewards" either. They, like many of us, even today still embody that horrible mentality of "throwing thrift to the winds," that nonsensical feasting of guests, that primitive legacy whereby we must show off at the table, whereby we must be wasteful to impress others with how much we have. How can we ever win the fight for what we call thrift—for good sense, modesty, for living within our means, for an economy without wedding feasts, for basic accounting and basic calculations, if we go on behaving this way? Will that revulsion of others and that sentence "Aren't you ashamed?" have the

effect that all of us, as citizens, also become controllers and fighters of wastefulness and squandering of the community's money?

The well-known business executive Jovan Tomovic, general director of Takovo Combine in Gornji Milanovac, was recently visited by several American businessmen of the Standard Brands Company. Important export transactions were involved. When it came time for lunch, director Tomovic took them to the workers' cafeteria.

Did this kind of business lunch take something away from Takovo's business reputation? No. Absolutely not. On the contrary, Takovo gained in the eyes of the American businessmen. They in fact said so. They gained confidence in Takovo as a partner who is not wasteful, but thrifty.

So, something can be learned even from the old capitalist and "skinflint" Vajfert. From Tomovic as well.

7045

CSO: 2800

TYPES OF OPPOSITION TO SELF-MANAGEMENT EXPLAINED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 80 p 14

[Text] The attempt to return to the position of state socialism that has been surpassed. The support of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is in the working class and other categories of workers.

The successful development of self-management in Yugoslavia in the period 1950-1980 was accompanied by the resistance of certain social forces that wanted to return to the old position of state socialism (the statist-bureaucratic platform), or turn into liberal forms (the anarcho-liberalist platform), or into the framework of "national socialism" (the rightist, nationalist platform).

A. The Statist-Bureaucratic Platform

Ideologists of this persuasion had as their point of departure that socialism can be built successfully only as "state socialism," or as "statism." Their model is Soviet socialism, which the writer regard to be applicable to the circumstances of Soviet society, but not to those of Yugoslavia, because here in Yugoslavia an original (spontaneous) socialist revolution took place that has a number of specific features.

Statism presupposes the leading role of the state in all realms of socio-economic, political and cultural life. In its structures the state directs the economy by so-called centralized planning, in which system the enterprises have essentially no independence or true initiative.

The director of an enterprise is directly responsible for fulfilling the plan to higher agencies, and these are responsible to ministries, so that the direct producers are deprived of the possibility of self-management.

The Cult of Function

The state has the decisive role in policy, since its direction is established largely independently, without any significant influence of society or public opinion. A so-called political bureaucracy appears, whose chief

features Marx described well in his early works: the closed nature of deliberations, isolation from the citizens in the process of making decisions, and manifestations of careerism and the "cult of function." Therefore, statism necessarily limits civil political rights and freedoms, and the lack of effective control over the functions of state agencies as a rule leads to manifestations of illegality and the lack of national security.

Finally, the state intervenes in the area of culture and cultural creativity. Its agencies establish surveillance over science, philosophy, literature, art and poetry, and even over music, imposing upon artistic endeavor a unified manner of thinking (so-called "socialist realism"). Such a relationship leads to the domination of mediocrity in the realm of the human spirit, since bureaucracy is afraid of any criticism that might threaten its position.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia-League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) perceived the negative sides of statism in the course of its break with Stalinism (from 1948 onward). Yugoslav communists properly saw that the omnipotent role of the state in a socialist order very quickly led to its bureaucratization and the creation of special interests in relation to those of general social interests. For that reason, and guided by Marxist theory on the withering of the state, Yugoslav communists began the gradual reduction and limitation of the state's functions.

In that, the basic notion was that the state could be replaced only by an integral self-management in all those spheres where the state had usurped power. In the economy, central planning was halted, and the enterprises received much greater independence.

In politics, central power was replaced by a new constitutional organization of society based on the principles of cooperation, negotiated agreement, and coordination of the positions of all interested parties. Cultural creativity was freed from the demands of "socialist realism," and as stated in the LCY program, directed to "be its own judge."

These processes, however, provoked the resistance of various dogmatic and bureaucratic forces that did not want to perceive that their time had passed; consequently, they bitterly sought to maintain lost positions.

After the break with the Stalinists, the LCY confronted these forces twice: when it critically rejected the unitarist platform of Aleksandar Rankovic (in the Brioni plenum of 1966), and when the so-called "neo-Stalinists" wanted to take the state in 1974 (in reality as neo-Stalinists). The neo-Stalinists created a theory of a "new communist party" (which was nothing other than the old, Stalinist one). Believing that self-management was close to its "collapse," they sought a renewed strengthening of the state and of centralism, in the name of the "rescue" of Yugoslavia. On the national plan, they resisted the recognition of the historical legitimacy of the Moslems, as well as the reinforcement of the political rights of Yugoslav nationalities.

The platform of the bureaucratic-statist renewal as a whole was opposed to socialist self-management, and insisted on showing the latter to be "an unsuccessful historical experiment."

The "New Left"

B. The Anarcho-liberal Platform

The innovator of this platform was Milovan Djilas, who considered that the Yugoslav revolution could be saved from bureaucratization only if it returned to a multi-party system, or made possible the functioning of fractions and groups within the LCY with independent programs and unlimited rights of discussion. He was of the opinion that the LCY should be "democratized" to such a degree that it would no longer have the appearance of a revolutionary party, but rather that of a liberal bourgeois party without any particular social influence. Djilas's ideas found no support, and for a long time were forgotten.

After more than a decade, those ideas were revived, and the so-called "new left" spread them. The new left sought to attain political influence particularly in the student movement of 1968. Its ideologists supported self-management, but wanted "self-management without the party." Their views contained elements of anarchism (in the call for social organization "from below upwards," without the leading role of the LCY), or liberalism (the desires for so-called "organizational pluralism," or free competition of political organizations and associations), and elitism (the assertion that the LCY should be replaced by "a new historical block" that would be composed of intellectuals and students, and only thirdly of workers).

The theoreticians of the "new left" stressed that the LCY should either be dropped or given a secondary role since, as long as it remained the party in power, it would constantly become bureaucratized anew.

In following their western models, they proclaimed that in Yugoslavia we had not really broken with Stalinism, because though we had disposed of Stalinism on the international level we had retained it internally. Thus, things had remained unchanged in Yugoslavia, in their opinion, and today one can find a so-called "anti-Stalinist Stalinism."

Their final notion was that in Yugoslavia self-management had become nothing but an empty form behind which was hidden an estranged bureaucratic rule. In order to change things, an anti-bureaucratic revolution was needed; its beginnings were supposedly to be seen precisely in the student movement. They too obviously were convinced that self-management was an unsuccessful experiment of Yugoslav society, and that it should be replaced by some other model (this time an anarchistic or liberal one).

C. The Rightist-Nationalist Platform

The ideologists of the so-called "new" or nationalistic right attempted to develop this platform. Their basic notion was that socialism in Yugoslavia can be built only at the national (i.e., Croatian, Serbian, or Slovenian) level. Their point of departure was that socialism needed to be brought into harmony with the "national spirit." Concerning the question of its development, there were varying solutions.

The Croatian "Right" insisted on a massive movement that would bring that republic's renaissance, make it an independent state and finally, separate it from Yugoslavia. In Serbia the "rightists" used essentially the same approach to show that this republic was sufficient unto itself, and that socialism could be built in a "Serbian manner." The "Moslem right" stressed that the Moslems in Yugoslavia were being threatened and that they needed to establish independent national institutions. And so it went.

Conclusion: Socialist self-management in Yugoslavia will probably continue to encounter resistance from these or similar platforms. To a certain degree, that is a normal manifestation. We would remind the reader of Engel's words that "the proletarian movement will unavoidably pass through various periods in its development, and at every state some people will be left behind who are not able to go farther." Such has been the case with the ideologists of the platforms discussed above and their adherents.

They either fell behind the movement (as did the dogmatists and the bureaucrats, and even the nationalists), insisting on the repetition of experiences that had been overcome, or they wanted to take the lead in an immature avant-garde manner (as the "new left"). In both cases, they did not assess the demands of time properly, so that they either lagged behind them or sought to "run ahead" of them. Therefore, they were defeated within the course of the revolution itself, and not by some "external force," as they sought to label the LCY and Tito's platform.

Naturally, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia could not remain indifferent to their challenges, and leave the historical spaces of the revolution to them. It won, however, thanks largely to its support in the working class and other working contingents of the population, and thanks as well to the strength of the political argument and the ideology that alone was suitable for the development of socialist self-management.

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